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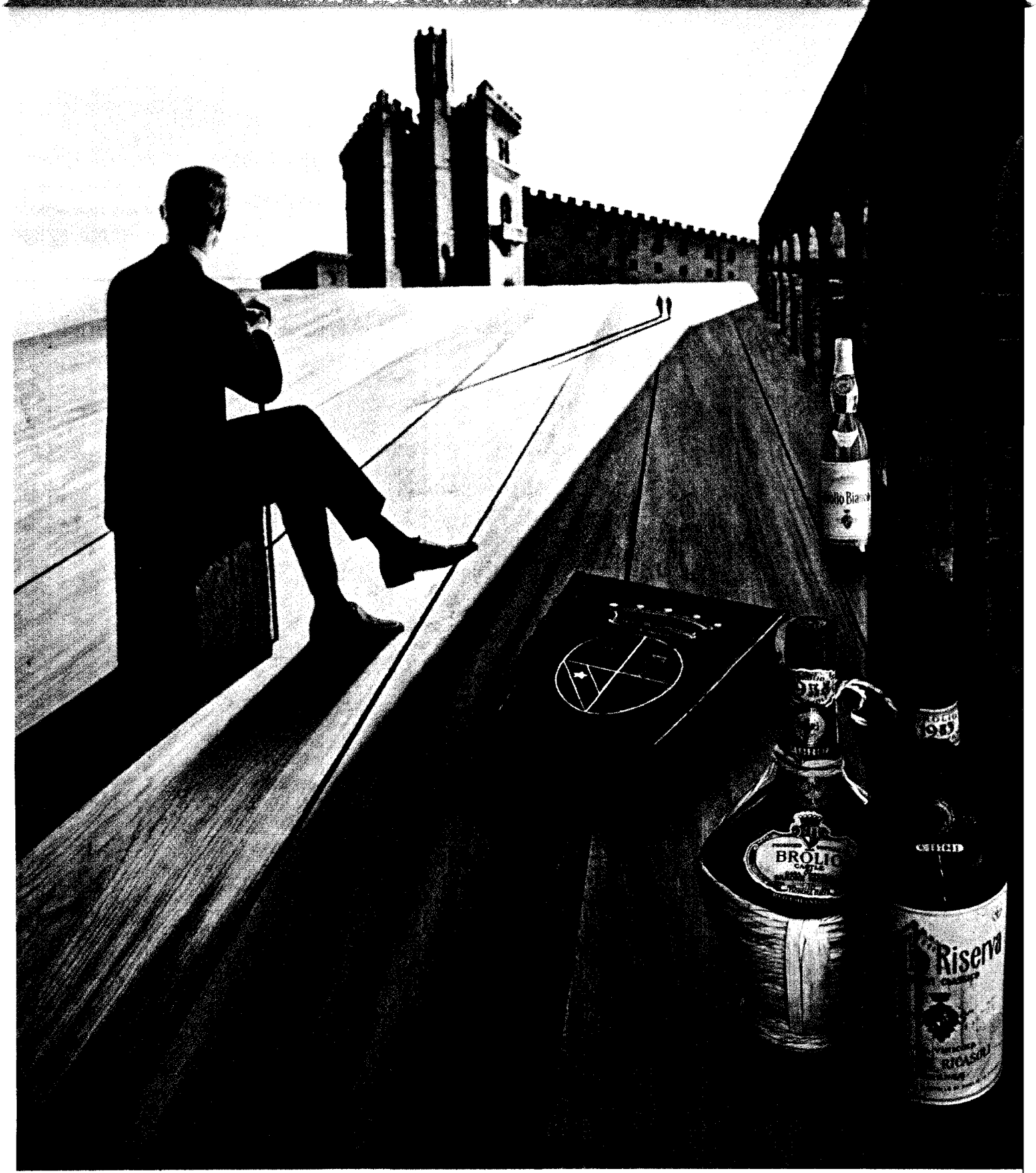

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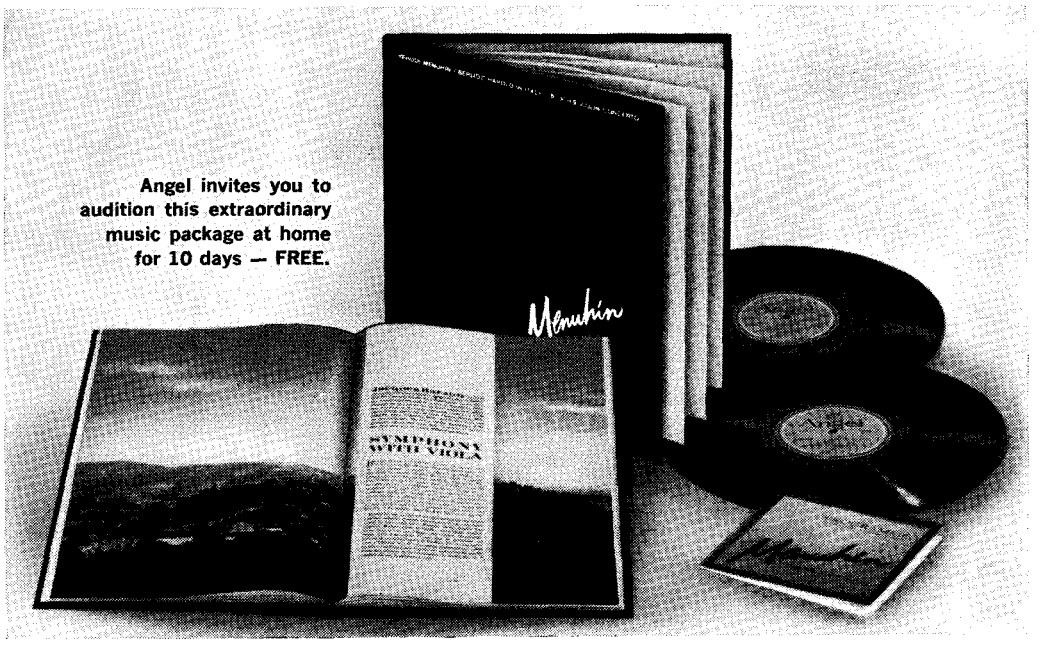

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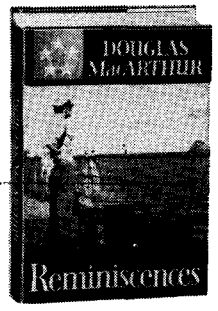

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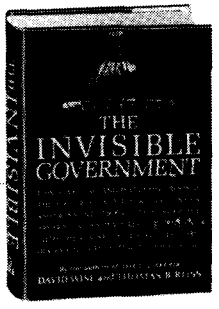

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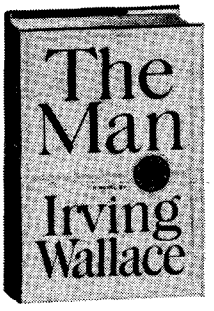

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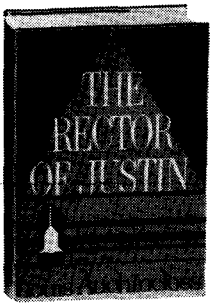

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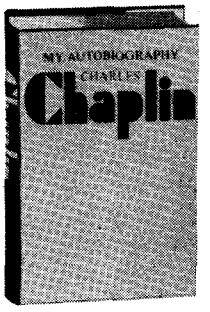

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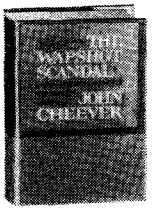

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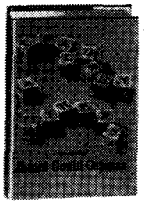

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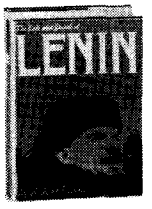

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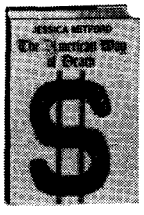

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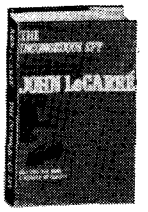

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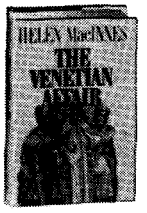

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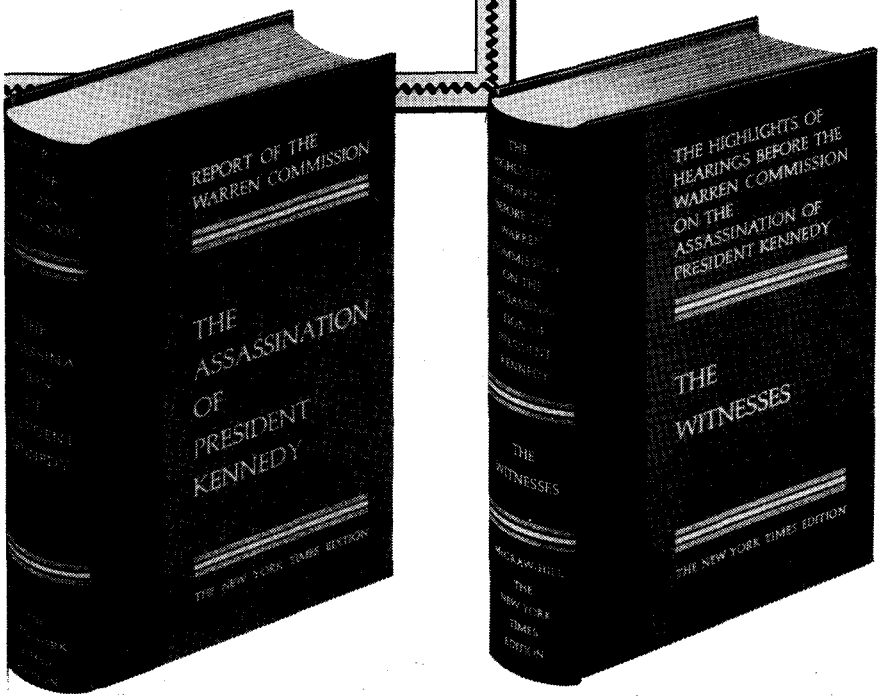
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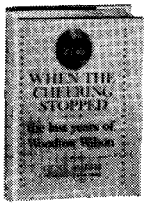

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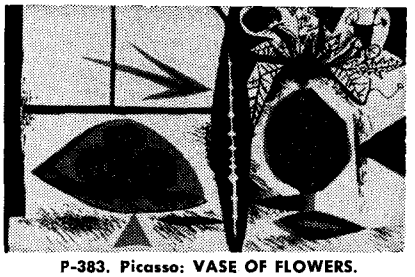

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

NOW THAT Lyndon Johnson has begun a term in his own right after his triumphant election, he has plunged immediately into the fantastic job of total reform of the very structure of American society. Were Hubert Humphrey the President, nobody would have been surprised, but Mr. Johnson's reputation was as a master of the art of the possible. Everybody knew him, or thought he knew him. But obviously, here we have one more case of the impact the Presidency exerts on a man. In **Max Ascoli's** opinion, he is superbly equipped for the office and is now giving to the nation the answers that the situation demanded from the day he went into the White House.

As the nation faces a crucial round of contract negotiations in steel and other basic industries, a new and unpredictable element has been intruded at the bargaining table between big business and big labor. This is the increasing tendency of rank-and-file unionists and their locals to ignore the recommendations of their top leadership and to strike for settlement of minor grievances. This insistence of the workers on a more direct voice in bargaining, according to **A. H. Raskin,** threatens the unions' stability as much as industry's. Mr. Raskin is assistant editor of the editorial page of the New York *Times*. . . . An anomaly of our national prosperity is the heavy outflow of gold and dollars that makes for a chronic balance-of-payments deficit. President Johnson, in considering how best to defend the dollar, faces the problem that some of the logical steps to reduce the deficit could also put a brake on economic growth. **M. J. Rossant** is a member of the editorial board of the New York *Times*. . . . A national economic problem that was the object of a Presidential task-force study concerns the need of states and cities for new revenue. One solution, the controversial Heller plan for returning Federal tax money to the states and communities to spend as they wish, is discussed by **Alan L. Otten,** a Washington correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal*, and **Charles B. Seib,** assistant managing editor of the Washington *Evening Star*.

The revolt that paralyzed the Berkeley campus of the University of California at the year's end revealed much about the present student generation as well as about the changes taking place in the character of many universities. The Berkeley experience, according to **Seymour Martin Lipset** and **Paul Seabury,** has a lesson for other campuses. Mr. Lipset is professor of sociology and director of the Institute of International Studies at Berkeley, where Mr. Seabury is professor of political science. He is chairman of the national executive committee of Americans for Democratic Action. . . . To **Prem Bhatia,** editor of the New Delhi *Indian Express* and a correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian*, the recent mass arrests of Peking-oriented Indian Communists was essential to the preservation of India's freedom. . . . **Mary Ellen Leary,** a reporter for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, reviews the attempt by Western growers to get around Secretary of Labor Wirtz's program for replacement of Mexican braceros by American field hands.

Jack Cope, making his first appearance in *The Reporter*, is a South African novelist, short-story writer, and poet who was raised in close association with the Zulu people. . . . **Frederic V. Grunfeld,** a regular contributor to these pages, lives in Mallorca. . . . **Gordon Rogoff,** columnist for the *Tulane Drama Review* and a frequent commentator here, explores Edward Albee's riddle inside a mystery wrapped in an enigma. . . . In his inimitable way, **Fernando Krahn** also wrestles with the problem of choice. . . . **Gerald Weales** is the author of the recent *A Play and Its Parts* (Basic Books) and of the forthcoming *Miss Grimsbee Takes a Vacation* (Atlantic Monthly Press). He is an associate professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania. . . . **Al Hine,** who writes about his native Pittsburgh, now lives in New Milford, Connecticut. Mr. Hine was associate producer of the film *Lord of the Flies;* his own novel, *Lord Love a Duck*, which was published by Atheneum in 1961, is about to be made into a movie.

Our cover is by **Gil Miret.**

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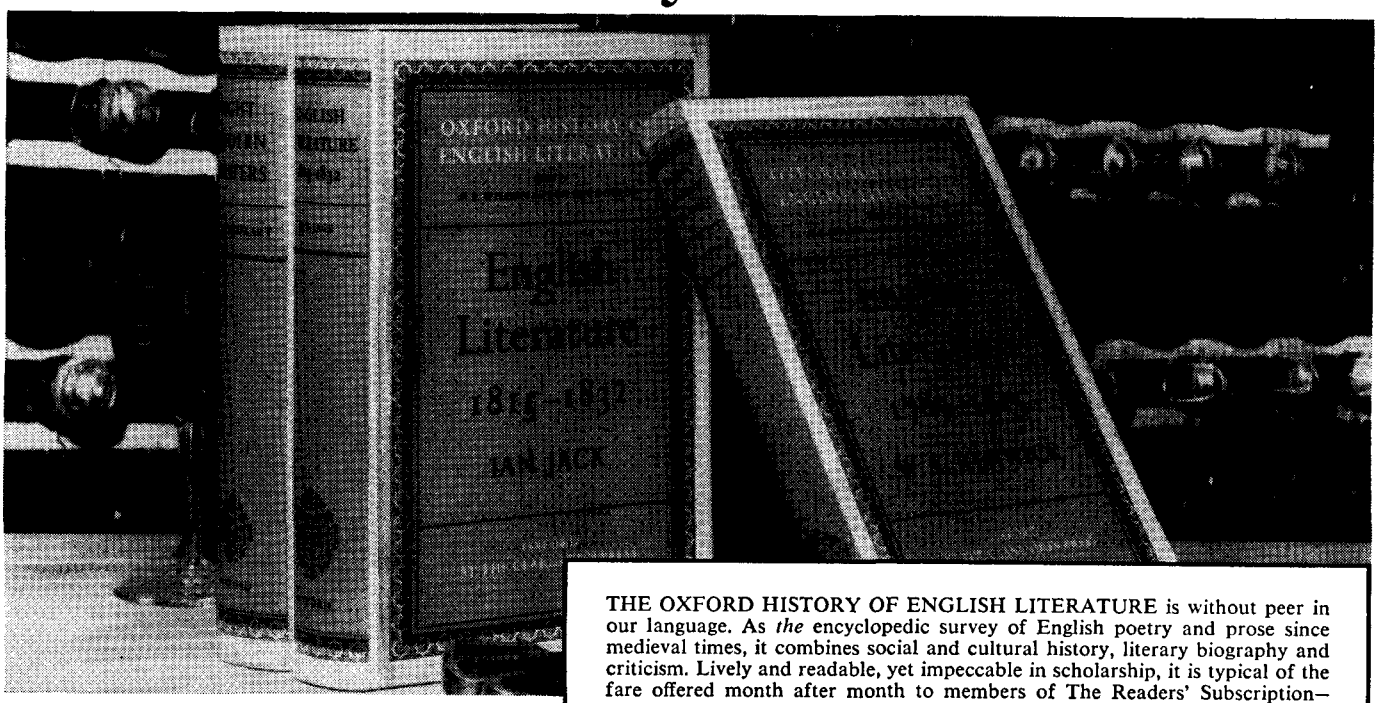

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Acrostician—

WALTER JENKINS

CORRESPONDENCE

INVESTING IN EUROPE

To the Editor: I would like to congratulate Edmond Taylor for his really competent and comprehensive "American Investments in Europe" (*The Reporter*, December 3, 1964). I read it with genuine interest and generally with approval.

At a certain point, Mr. Taylor mentioned misgivings on American investments among German businessmen. It might be that here and there such misgivings actually exist in Germany, but I would like to stress the fact that the German Government does not share in these apprehensions. Its policy was and is based on the principle of unrestricted capital movements across national borders and it supports the greatest possible liberalization in world trade.

Obviously, the free flow of goods depends upon their competitiveness, which in part depends upon scientific and technological progress. Theoretically, I can see no reason why the economy of one country should not use the achievements of another nation, especially those of an ally and partner, so long as it is in keeping with legally acceptable practice.

Yet the use of freedom in this field should not be distorted. The full enjoyment of liberty in all forms of life presupposes voluntarily observed limits and the respect not only of the rights but also of the sentiments of others. I have the feeling that the same limits are even more valid in the relationship between two nations or between the businessmen of two different countries. The use of freedom, often not determined by written law, must be responsible and sensible.

Whether the basic objectives of the Common Market would really be threatened by American investments in its member countries I do not know. Personally, I am a bit doubtful of it. The Americans' share in overall investments in the six Common Market countries is still rather small. However, this judgment may differ from country to country according to the degree of economic development.

Also, I do not know what kind of future policy the Six will pursue. Mr. Taylor mentioned the possibility of a return of cartels. We in Germany have been confronted with the problems of cartels for a long time. After long and heated discussions, we now have legislation on cartels, which does not forbid them generally but tolerates them when their purposes are socially and economically innocuous. I can imagine that a similar development could take place in the Common Market, too. For the trend of industry irrevocably inclines toward ever larger units of production with ever greater investment of capital and ever more expensive research. In developing toward optimal sizes, the European corporations will always find a helping hand welcome if not necessary.

That this primarily economic process of concentration will in the long run also produce political repercussions seems obvious. But these political effects should consist in tying Europe to America and not in alienating them from each other. The achievement of this goal requires open-mindedness on the European side, while American industrialists above all should be aware of the wisdom of the Latin proverb: *festina lente*!

HEINRICH KNAPPSTEIN
Ambassador
Federal Republic of Germany
Washington

BILL OF HEALTH

To the Editor: I have read H. G. Nicholas' "Financing the U.N.: Pressures and Principles" (*The Reporter*, December 31) and thought it a most perceptive analysis of the present state of health of the United Nations.

FRANK H. CORNER
New Zealand Mission
to the United Nations

BAN THE CAR?

To the Editor: In "A Plague of Our Own" (*The Reporter*, December 31), Daniel Patrick Moynihan goes to great trouble to show that " . . . the agent was not the *vehicle* involved—the car, the knife, the poison, the atomic pile or whatever—but the abnormal energy exchange that produced the injuries . . . ," and then tumbles into this simplistic solution: "We could, for example, save the lives of perhaps five hundred children a year simply by turning in our guns. Will we?"

Perhaps 47,000 persons are killed in automobile accidents yearly, but he makes no suggestion that we turn in our cars to prevent these deaths. Prohibition and banning always seem to be such easy solutions, but they create more problems than they solve. Banning water might prevent drownings, but no one suggests this sort of solution.

R. T. FERGUSON
Minneapolis

LIBERAL AGRARIANS

To the Editor: As a graduate student at Harvard University currently engaged in a study of the political attitudes of the Nashville Agrarians, I was extremely interested in George Steiner's statement in "Thought in a Green Shade" (*The Reporter*, December 31) that the agrarianism of the Nashville group "suggests a vital affinity between pastoralism and political reaction." The statement is misleading if it should lead one to expect the Agrarians to be followers of the DuPont Liberty League, the Republican Party, and a business-oriented, laissez-faire ideology. As a matter of fact, the Agrarians are in the tradition of the Middle Western agrarian revolt against the encroaching power of big business and Wall Street. The Agrarians, by and large, are Democrats, and if they had one complaint regarding the New Deal it was that it did not funda-

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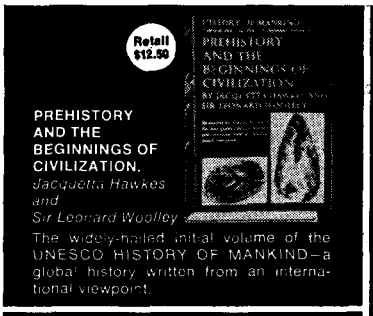
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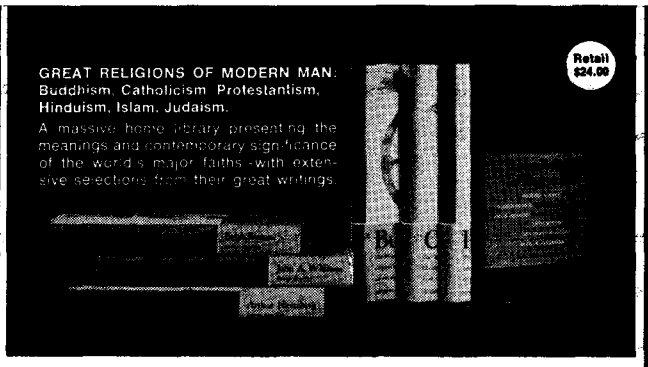
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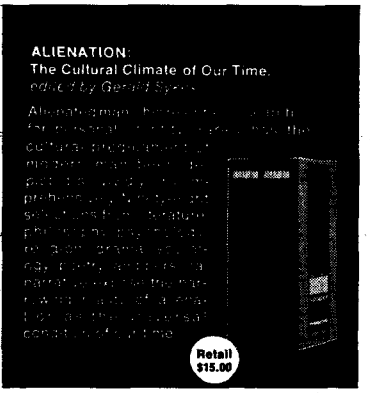

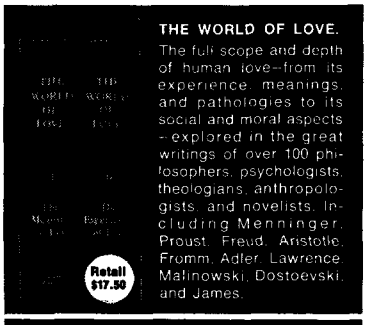
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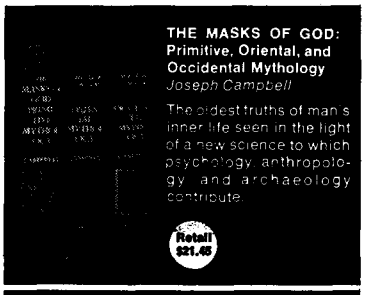
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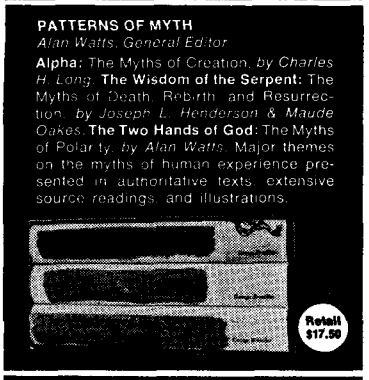
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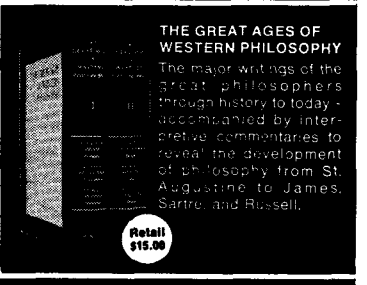
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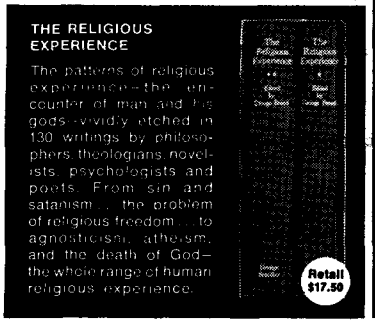
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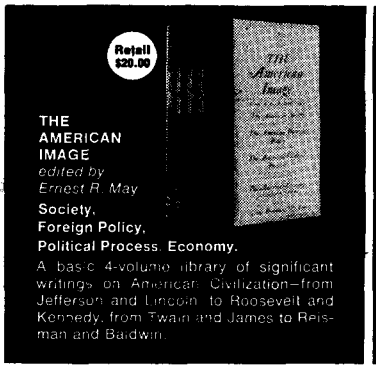
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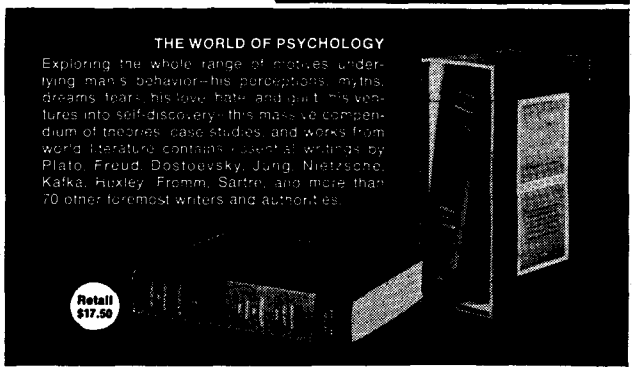
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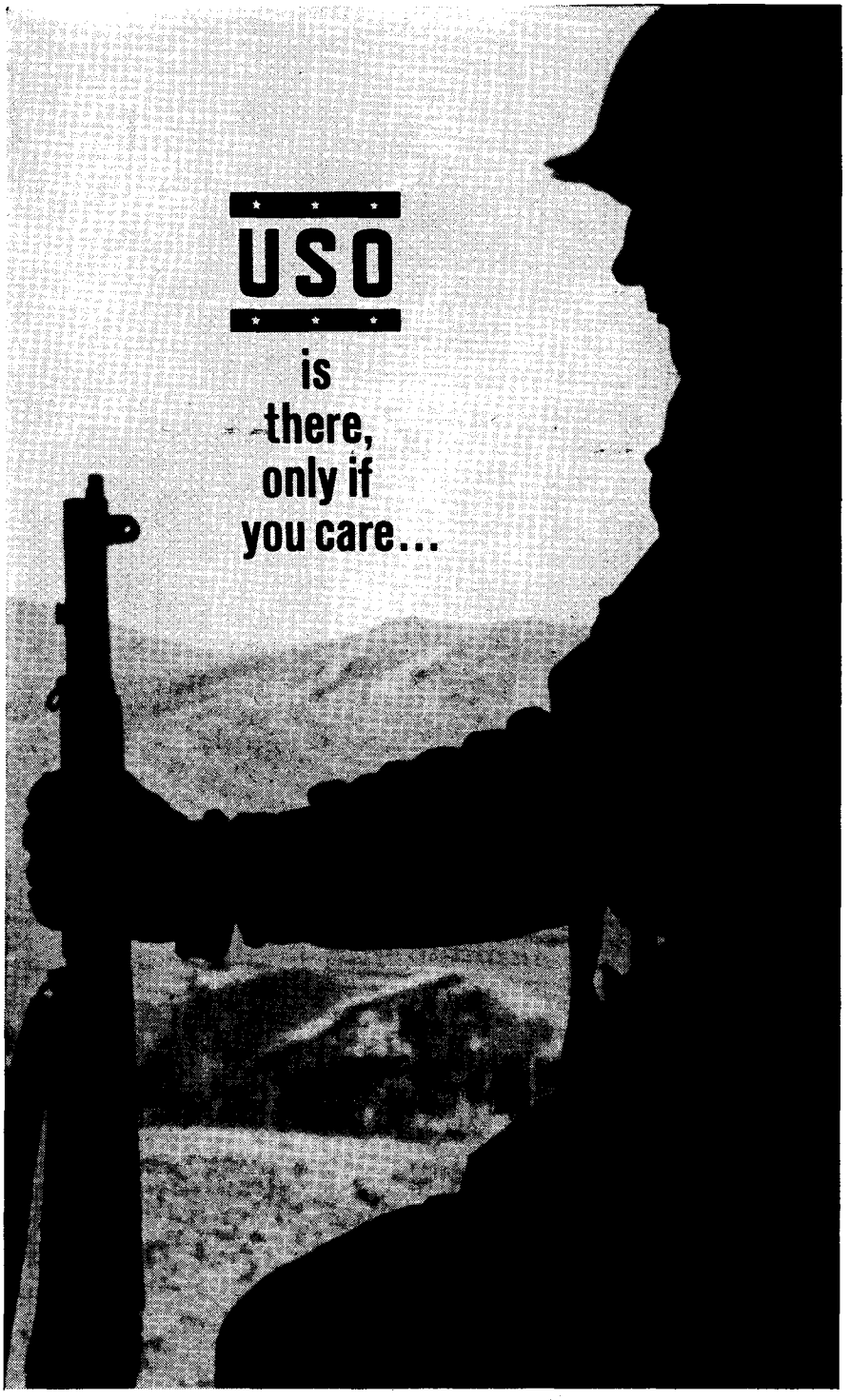

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mentally attack the power of big business-big finance but preferred a pragmatic tinkering with the economy. If Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., is correct in his *The Age of Jackson* that opposition to the world of big business is the central thread of American liberalism, then the Nashville Agrarians are more "liberal" than the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

EDWARD S. SHAPIRO
Silver Spring, Maryland

PROGRESS IN PHILADELPHIA

To the Editor: I found Hannah Lees' "Self-Help in Philadelphia" (*The Reporter*, December 17) of tremendous interest, particularly in view of my great admiration for the work that the Reverend Leon Sullivan has been doing at the Opportunities Industrialization Center. As Miss Lees indicates, Scott Paper Company was a contributor to this project, and I had the personal pleasure of attending the dedication ceremonies last January.

During the intervening time, I have been attempting to transplant this concept to Chester, Pennsylvania, where I have been active in revitalization efforts which have become known as the Greater Chester Movement. By rather strange coincidence, while I was reading Miss Lees' article I received a telephone call from the representative of the Chester Junior Chamber of Commerce who has been heading up a small committee which has been in conversations with Mr. Sullivan and his associate, the Reverend Thomas J. Ritter. It would appear that our project in Chester is beginning to take form.

A. J. SCHRODER, 2nd
Administrative Vice President
Scott Paper Company
Philadelphia

To the Editor: We were delighted to work with the Reverends Sullivan and Ritter in helping to establish the Opportunities Industrialization Center in North Philadelphia. The needs are obvious, and it was indeed rewarding for our company to be able to make a contribution through the Smith Kline & French Foundation during the embryonic stages of this successful self-help program. We were particularly pleased that the motivating force for the program came from within the community itself; we are convinced that such indigenous effort is almost mandatory for complete success in projects of this type.

You may be interested to know that we've recently made our second contribution to the Center, and fully expect its activities to continue to expand from the basic nucleus established thus far. Much remains to be done, in Philadelphia and elsewhere in the country, but we are convinced that such self-help programs have a motivational value far surpassing the impact provided by the training itself.

RICHARD D. JORDAN
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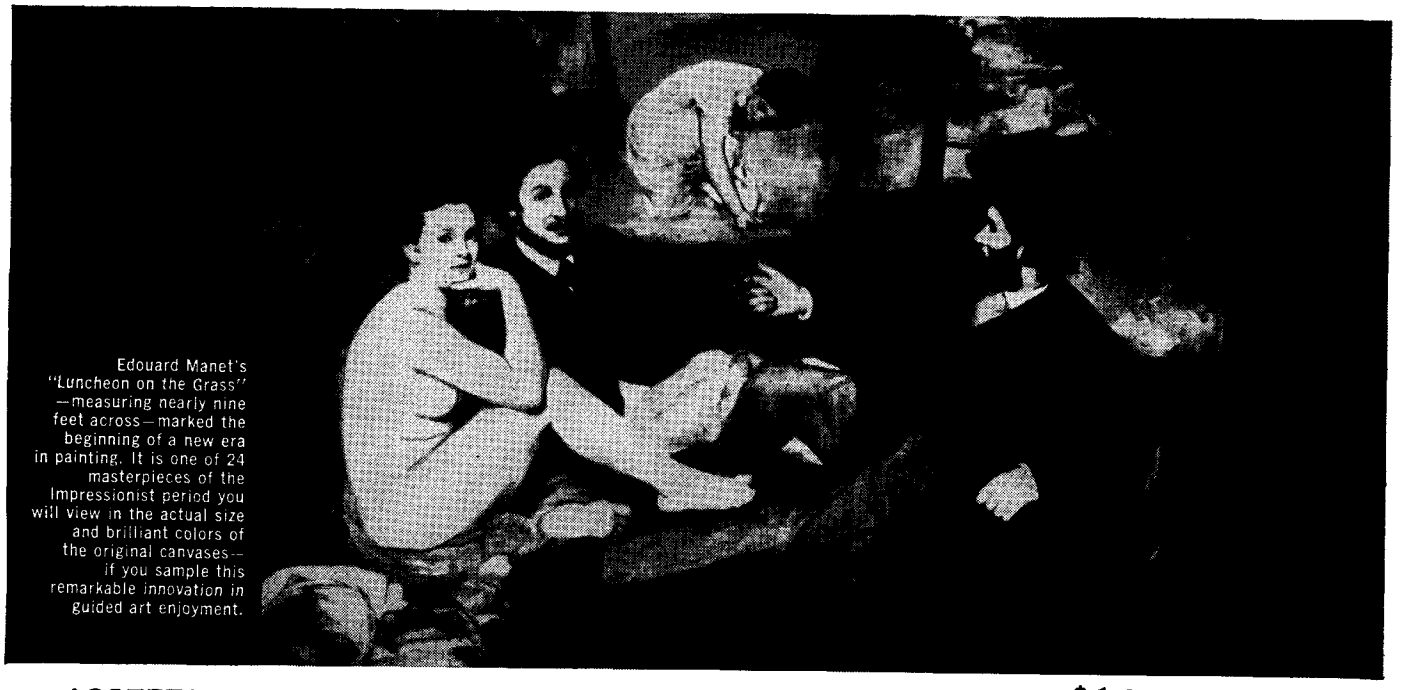

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No. 118

by HENRY ALLEN

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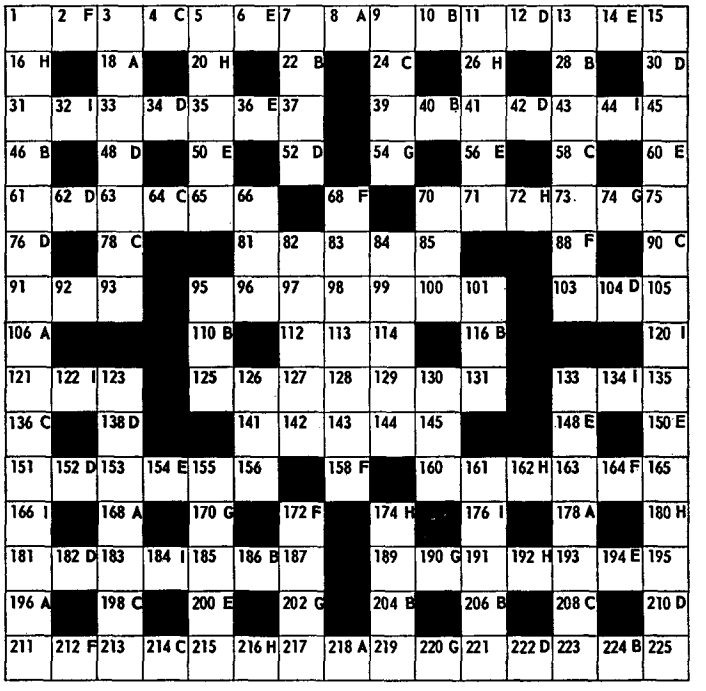
DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A
168 8 178 196 18 106 218 Message reputed to have been sent by Lord Ellenborough when he captured Scinde.

B
22 110 186 10 46 206 40 28 204 224 116 Partially transports (4,7).

C
90 208 4 214 198 24 136 58 78 64 Not put in any order.

D
52 152 12 42 48 104 182 138 62 76 34 30 222 210 Descriptive of buildings on the Acropolis or in the Roman Forum (6,8).

E
6 148 154 200 56 60 36 14 194 50 150 Vexations.

F
172 68 88 164 2 158 212 "In perfect___ to the Dorian mood." Milton, *Paradise Lost.*

G
54 190 220 170 74 202 92 Lifted; raised.

H
20 216 16 26 180 192 72 162 174 Term sometimes applied to those who employ *sharp practices.*

I
44 176 122 32 134 120 166 184 Sudden winds from a certain direction over the Plains or Texas.

ACROSS

1. A pleasing epithet for the Acrostician's bailiwick (8,2,5).
31. At Louisiana, the tan worker moved to a big city in Georgia.
39. A Roman official but in Ireland in another way.
61. Concentrates; that is to say, the sled cuts out.
70. Outcries about thus and so.
81. The sailor dined. Lessen it, anyhow.
91. Not even in good deportment.
95. Here we have a role for a hog as a timekeeper.
103. What is yours, described very colloquially, and very without the book.
112. I see why it's freezing cold.
121. This man seems an ideal leader for an Irish organization, in short.
125. British smokes may be partakers of the game.
133. How to begin phobia.
141. Pole may be positive he's a poem!
151. Tourniquet or Goldeneye duck.
160. Yesterday's kick ended with a kind of brook.
181. This disciple is a pillar to the French.
189. That part in troop alignment.
211. Special perquisites that vex great spieler (5,10).

DOWN

1. An epithet describing the unwarlike compatriots of the Acrostician (5,6,4).
3. Made a comeback for all in dire need.
5. Great poet who sounds finished.
7. Mash or otherwise obliterate all false pretense . . .
9. . . . and take a hot vow to do so.
11. Curtain thrift and make a narrow arm of the sea.
13. Why use a rug in this Republic of South America?
15. Yerba Buena, Hispaniola, and a story by R.L.S. (8,7).
66. Saint in Portugal and part of Brazil's largest city.
68. The kingfisher is calm and peaceful.
70. A bit of a segment may be an iris (dial.).
82. An Irish hero with singular brains.
84. Played childishly?
95. The luck found in rich apple pies.
101. The letter that best warns of danger on the road.
123. Take an oar on a trip from this terminal.
126. Indian pillar broken at the start of 31 across.
130. Impute a change when a tree loses a point.
133. Valuing the frosting at last.
155. I am surrounded by oats in port near Rome.
161. Prince Henry has an alternative hourly.
172. He may be of the realm, but look hard.
174. He may be a British Beatnik or very important people indeed.

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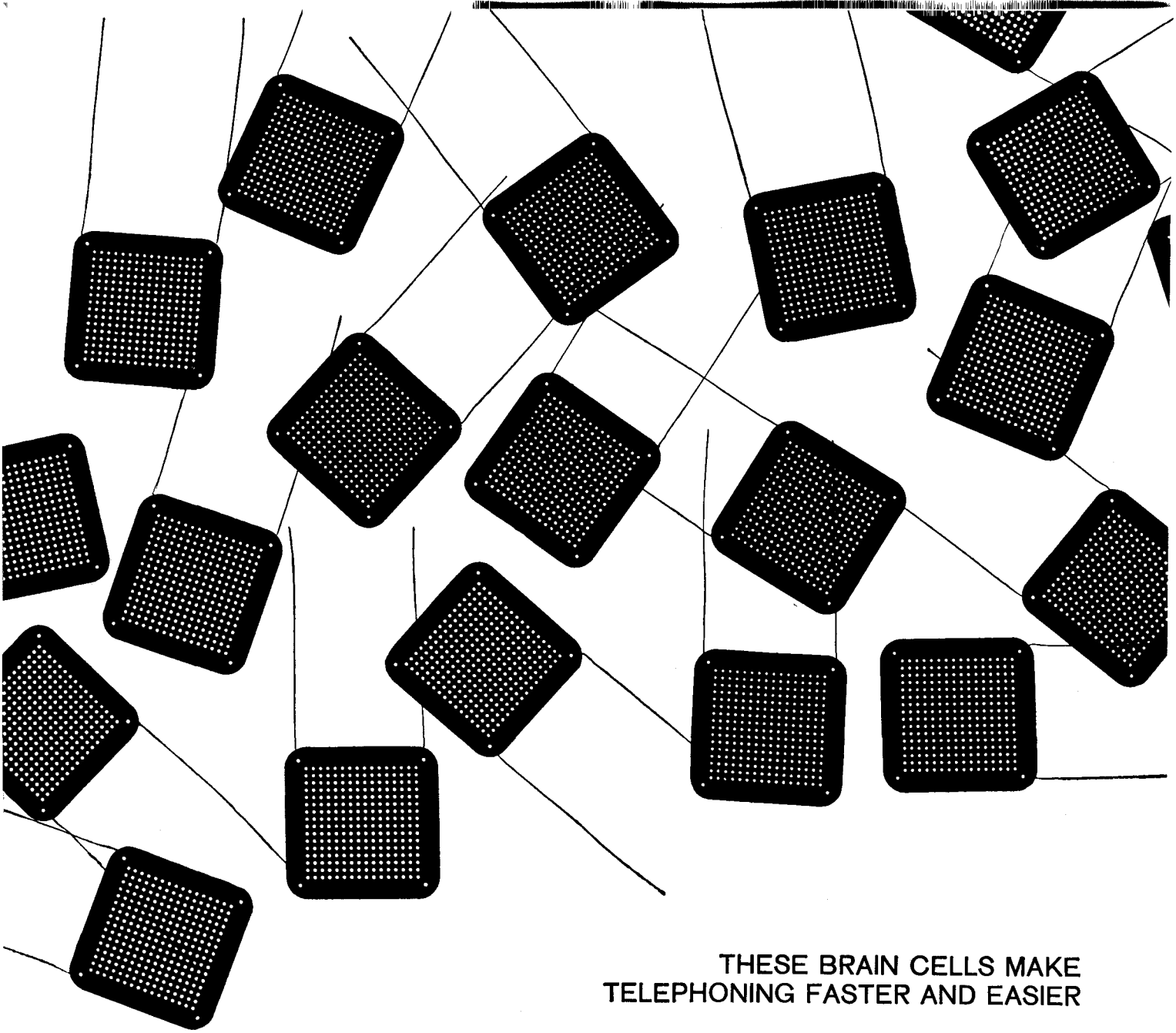

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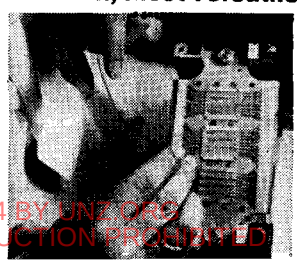

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Negotiations with China

The clamor is mounting on all sides: let's get out of the Vietnam mess. Senators, public philosophers, and ever-available academic experts in international affairs have taken up the cry with indomitable zest. The point, of course, is to know where to go once we get out of there. And here the unanimity of the emotional appeal breaks down in a number of different destinations. Some say quite plainly: let's go home; let's restrict our concern, our effort, and our military means to our immediate neighborhood, which means the West and Latin America.

Some others are less radical and suggest intermediate steps that, hopefully, they think may turn out to be permanent. A number of different ideas are offered that have one thing in common: they are all based on some phase of history, no matter whether recent or remote, and they all assume that what has happened or is supposed to have happened will be kind enough to repeat itself.

The antagonism of the people of Indochina toward the Chinese is documented by history itself, so we hear. We have heard the same about the Tibetans, but let it go. Look carefully at Ho Chi Minh, some others say; don't you see there a new Tito? The aging Yugoslav marshal must feel good these days: there seems to be a proliferation of Titos everywhere. Eventually Castro, too . . . .

But if we don't withdraw all the way to Waikiki and if Ho Chi Minh is not up to the Tito role, how do we leave the people of Vietnam once we wash our hands of that mess? Well, here, too, history can provide some guidance. Indeed, it is in the immediate neighborhood: Laos. Have we forgotten all that used to be said about "a truly neutral and independent Laos"? We shouldn't, for some of the high-ranking U.S. diplomats who did their best to bring about that solution are still sitting in high office. Or maybe they don't sit and are busy running around, trying to bring into being a truly neutral and independent Vietnam.

IN THIS MAGAZINE we have tried to report and comment to the best of our ability on the unfolding events in that most unfortunate country. We will go on doing it, as it is our duty. But on some occasions, like the one created by the get-out-of-Vietnam clamor, we think it is our duty now to state briefly and clearly a position that we will further elaborate. We do not belong to those who find guidance for their thinking in historical analogy. The Laotian pattern has proved to be too disastrous to make a second and larger round even thinkable.

Our administration must sometime—and the sooner the better—open negotiations with China, directly, formally, not through ambassadors stationed in a suburban capital of the Communist empire, but with the best diplomats we have, empowered to confront China's most authoritative men. Our administration must lay down its conditions for peace. Taiwan must remain free of Communist China, and the same must be the case for the countries on the mainland that the Communists do not control. The United States is not in the business of pushing peoples to Communism.

If the present balance of forces is stabilized and the Communists themselves do not upset it with their means of warfare, no matter how called, then even South Vietnam may have a chance. Then we can have relations with China, diplomatic, commercial, and otherwise, neither more and probably less cordial than those with the Soviet Union. That we can take.

But should Peking stick to its ambitions and persist in its course, then it must be made clear that the Seventh Fleet is not in the Pacific just to prove its seaworthiness. Negotiations with China are needed, not of the open-diplomacy type, but open enough to let the whole world know where our country stands. They should lead to peace, but we must have no doubt in our mind, for they may bring war closer than at any time since 1945.

—*M.A.*

The President on Education

The President's education message, in our modest opinion, is being praised for the wrong reason. True, the President sidestepped issues famous for inflaming Congress and for bringing one education bill after another down to defeat. As a cartographer of Congress, Johnson is better qualified than anyone; and where aid to education is concerned, probably no one is better qualified to draw the relevant cautionary map—"Here be alligators," "There be Cardinal Spellman," "Adam Clayton Powell Shoals."

Still, the important point about the sidestepped issues is that they deserved to be sidestepped. In asking the Congress to pass the biggest aid-to-education bill in history, Johnson has called upon the legislators to commit the Federal government to ensuring "full educational opportunity" for all. Traditionally, Congress has justified what aid it granted on such specious principles as that of the Federal "impact" on certain areas of the country, or as being in the interests of "national defense." If his bill succeeds, President Johnson will have established the principle of Federal assistance to primary and secondary education on the grounds of economic need. In the proposed program, "educational opportunity"

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The Lunts in Washington

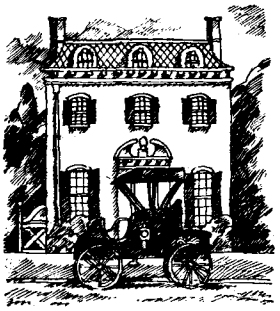
It was smack in the middle of the Depression that a certain acting couple turned down an offer of a million dollars for making four movies. (It had to be a certain couple, because an uncertain couple never would have had the nerve.)

But this was Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne, and they simply wouldn't sign a contract that did not give them script approval.

Hand-Picked Vehicles

Such care about the works in which they appear has served the Lunts well in four decades of performing together. It is a reason, too, for viewers' looking ahead with special anticipation to the evening of Thursday, Jan. 28.

On that night (9:30 to 11 pm EST) the Lunts will be starring in NBC-TV's Hallmark Hall of Fame presentation of "The Magnificent Yankee", a 90-minute color adaptation of Emmet Lavery's warm, witty and winning stage play about U.S. Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.



The play is, essentially, a non-legal (we almost said "illegal") story about the last 30 years in the public and private life of the colorful Bostonian who came to be known as the Court's "Great Dissenter." Set entirely in Washington, the action spans the administrations from Theodore to Franklin Roosevelt.

Prominent in the Hallmark special's brilliant cast are Eduard Franz, as Justice Louis Brandeis; Robert Emhardt, as historian Henry Adams; and James Daly, as author Owen Wister. Through "The Magnificent Yankee"—adapted for television by Robert Hartung—millions of viewers will get to know Holmes as a seeker after truth; as a loyal friend; and as a devoted husband. They will come to admire, too, the charm and wisdom of his wife, a lady who understood her frequently difficult spouse as thoroughly as he understood his Constitutional Law.

Just how much of a contribution Fanny Holmes made to her husband's growth and well-being is wrapped up neatly by Holmes himself in a kidding remark he makes to her in their very last scene together: "It's as the minister said the day we were married ...two people *did* become one ...only trouble was that you were the one."

Such is the reverence with which theatre people regard the Lunts that even so accomplished a producer-director as George Schaefer (whose roster of Hallmark stars includes such names as Maurice Evans, Richard Burton, Katharine Cornell and Helen Hayes) found himself troubled by a bad case of awe before "The Magnificent Yankee's" first TV rehearsals. However, the Lunts put him at ease immediately. "Mr. Schaefer," he was assured, "please remember one thing—you *can't* give us enough direction."

Energy Without End

Schaefer, himself, has a reputation for being a tireless taskmaster on the set, but the inexhaustible energy of the Lunts made him feel like a shirker. "They'd show up for rehearsals a half hour before anybody else," he reports. "Then, after they'd worked their hearts out all day, I'd have the devil of a time getting them to quit." And that's not so surprising. Whether it's a rehearsal or an entire acting career, the very idea of quitting has always been terribly alien to Mr. and Mrs. Lunt. For which audiences throughout the world should be ever grateful.

Look to NBC for the best combination of entertainment, news and sports.

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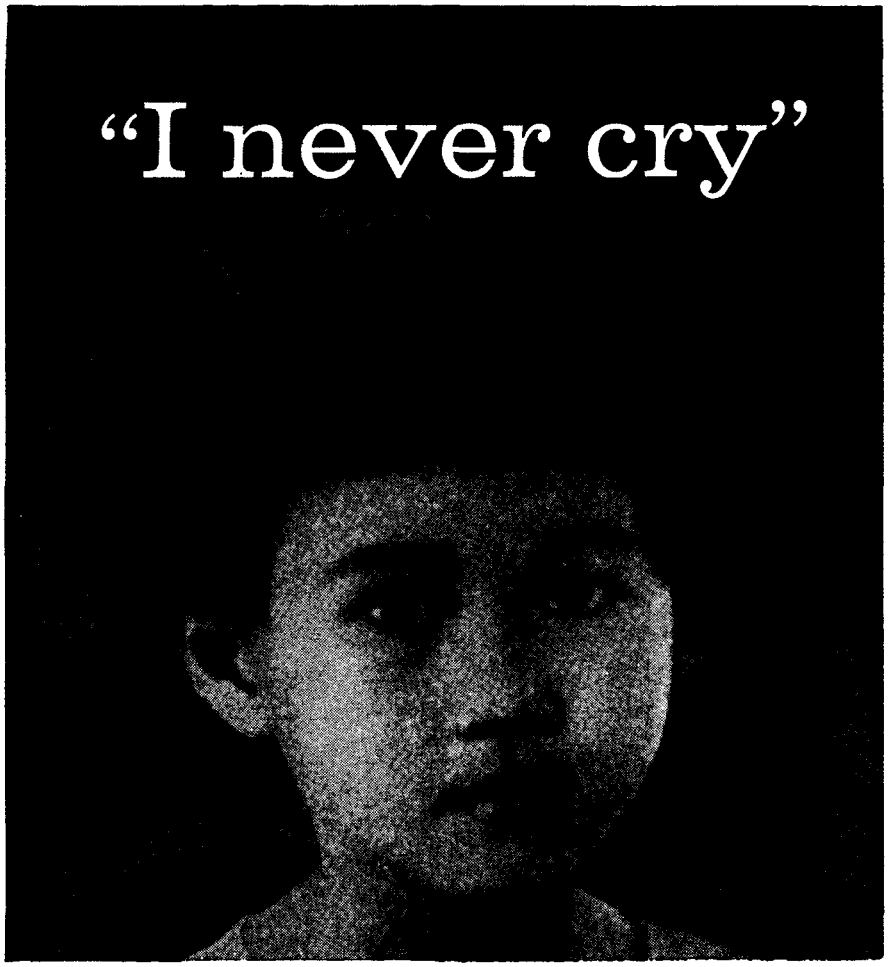
"I never cry"



YOU'LL never hear Mai Li Po cry, never hear her complain. Only her eyes give her away —those great dark wounded eyes staring in hurt at a world she cannot understand.

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appears to mean more than help for schoolchildren from low-income areas. It also means improving the quality of education throughout the country: witness the recommendation to grant funds for "supplementary education centers and services" existing outside the ordinary bureaucratic channels of state education systems and geared to introducing new techniques of teaching and of learning.

Analysis of the President's message provides other heartening examples of a well-taken principle neatly applied to real and specific problems. One is the proposed funding for assistance in the purchase of books, since both their paucity and their rapid obsolescence have long plagued local educators. Another is the proposed grants for the improvement of the quality of state education agencies themselves. This last put us in mind of a bit of wisdom Dr. James B. Conant recently shared with our readers: "If the American people would only accept the fact that we have inherited not a national system of education but fifty state systems, we could at least get rid of our illusions about what Congress or the President can do."

What the Congress or the President or anyone else can do, of course, will largely depend upon how the participants in the hoary debates over school bills view the President's package. In one respect, at least, time has been on Johnson's side: with the passage of the Civil Rights Act last year and its strong Title VI, the question of aid to segregated institutions should no longer be a source of contention. Indeed, the new bill would give a new lever to civil-rights advocates, since Title VI of the Rights Act specifically prohibits Federal funds to local public institutions that have been found to discriminate.

On the question of public funds for private schools, the President also seems to be in a strong position. The initial response on both sides of that vexed, not to say hysterical, question has been mild. The recommended inclusion of children from private schools in the proposed benefits by way of aid to shared-time programs and the provision of much-needed books has an additional advantage. It would go a

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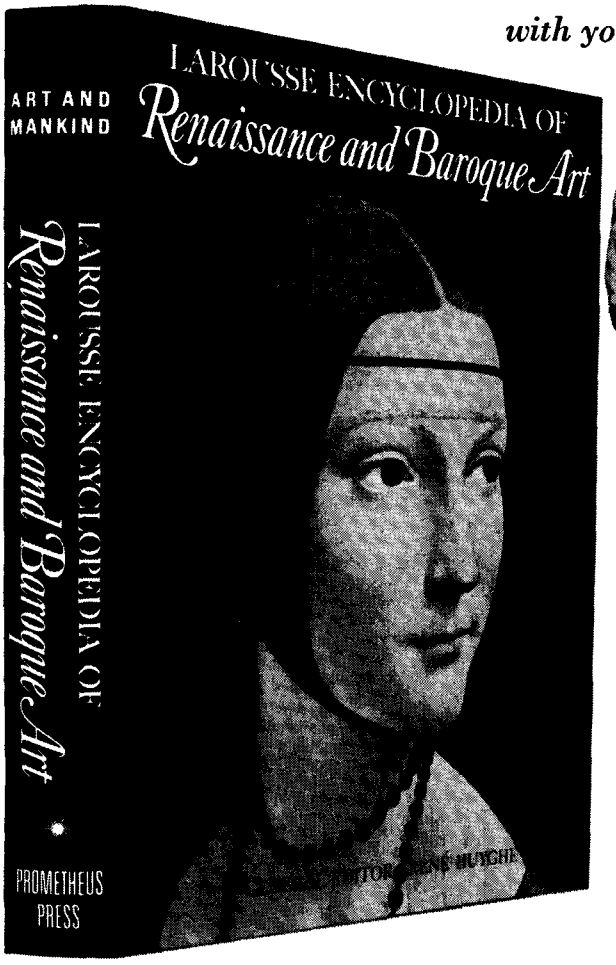

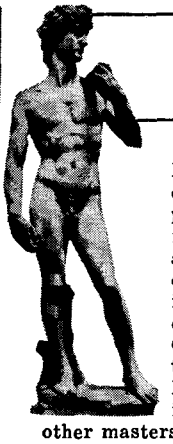

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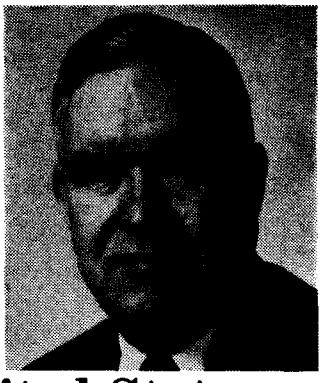

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long way to breaking down the artificial barriers that now exist between two parallel educational systems and between the children themselves. Nor does the proposed assistance to children in private institutions seem excessive or imbalanced. Enrollment in parochial schools in the past two decades has been growing twice as fast as public-school enrollment. About ten per cent of the money the administration has requested would probably go to assist students who are estimated to represent between ten and thirteen per cent of the total student population.

It has been more than twenty-five years since the footling debate on general aid to education got under way. Time and the tendency of all parties to obfuscate the real issues have resulted in a hardening of positions along wholly unrealistic and often irrelevant lines. For that reason, the apparent good will that has been displayed in recent days by everyone from the National Education Association lobby to the interested prelates seems particularly auspicious.

The Image Maker

Whatever else his goals may be, it is plain that Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan is determined to present a more polished performance for Republican leadership in Congress. Ford wasted no time in launching an image-improvement campaign after replacing Charles A. Halleck of Indiana as House minority leader, appearing on six radio and television programs within a week.

Ford's remarks seemed designed to prove that he is a fervent believer in the power of positive Republicanism. Exclusionism—a word much in the Republican lexicon of late—will be *verboten*, and all Republicans will be "sixty minute players." Task forces, co-ordinating committees, and professor groups will study, develop, and sell "appealing" Republican programs to convince Americans that G.O.P. congressmen are not negativists.

Ford even stands ready to back the administration on some issues. When a reporter inquired about

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HIGH STYLIST

Designing woman? Yes indeed, but in a most admirable sense. As a member of the General Motors design team, she is preparing sketches of a steering wheel for a future GM car. Like her male associates on GM's Styling Staff, she is fully qualified and competent to design consumer products in any field.

General Motors hired its first woman designer more than 20 years ago. Originally color and fabric consultants, the young ladies advanced rapidly to full membership in a group effort which now involves the skills of hundreds of people in GM Styling. In the past two decades, the feminine influence has changed many concepts of automotive design.

Women designers have contributed to the development of interior convenience features, safety items and such innovations as color coordination of interiors with exteriors and particular fabrics to suit women's tastes. Many a man, too, is grateful for these and other feminine contributions.

The role of women in designing beauty, utility and quality into GM products is more important than ever before.

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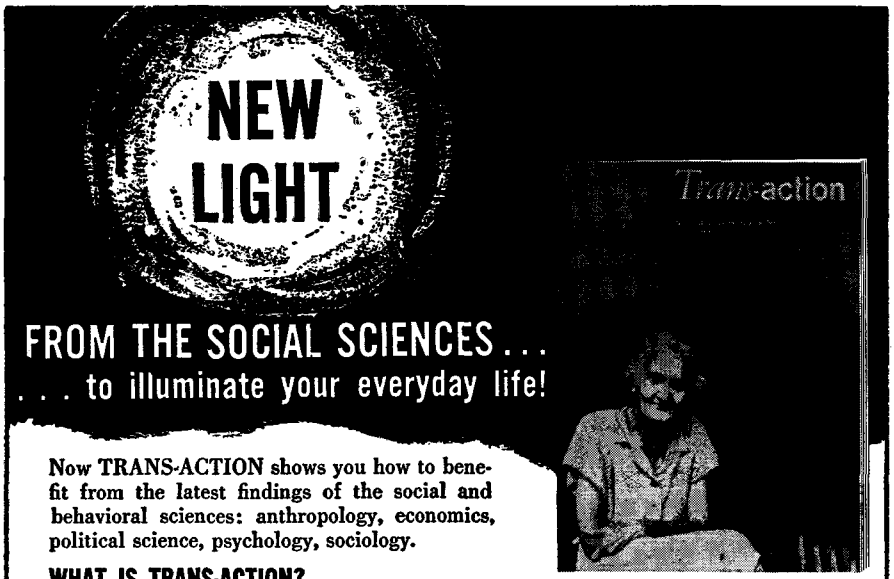

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Johnson's recommendations for beautifying the country, Ford proclaimed Republican support for "retaining and expanding our natural beauty, although we might want to legislatively look at how we do it."

For all his bluster, Halleck is a sentimental man, and he took his defeat hard. It was not so much his enemies who brought him down as his friends, who either did not work enthusiastically for him or turned their backs on him. Halleck received eighty-three pledges of support, but in the secret balloting only sixty-seven were delivered. When the tally was announced, Halleck stepped forward at the party caucus and, in a voice choked with emotion, pledged support to Ford.

Because Halleck was so vitriolically partisan, Ford's unimaginative, even-tempered style makes him seem bland by comparison. Moreover, Ford was not a particularly popular choice. The young conservatives who promoted him really would have preferred the more aggressive Melvin R. Laird of Wisconsin, who moved into Ford's old job as conference chairman. Similarly, his liberal backers were disappointed that they didn't have the chance to support someone less conservative.

Thus it was no surprise that Ford flunked the first major test of his leadership when a party caucus refused to replace the aging whip, Leslie C. Arends of Illinois, with the younger Peter Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. It was an ominous portent for Ford's ambitious plans to broaden the party's base and unify the 140 Republicans behind more viable policies.

The retention of Arends constituted a personal warning to Ford. Just as Halleck ousted Joseph Martin in 1959, and Ford overthrew Halleck, there already is speculation that Laird may one day challenge Ford. Laird's zealous followers are busily making plans to turn the party conference into a power base for their man. Even more significant is one overlooked aspect of the whip battle—the fact that some of Laird's closest friends supported Arends. As one Halleck man observed: "The biggest thing Ford has to worry about is the Laird in his future."

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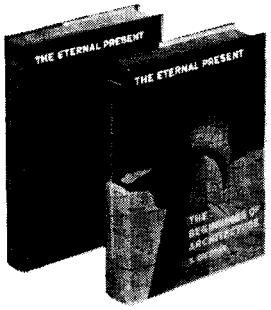

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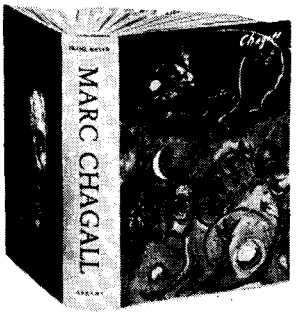

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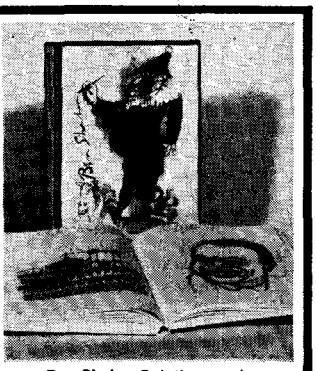

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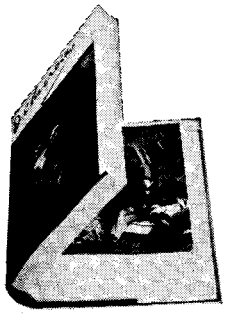

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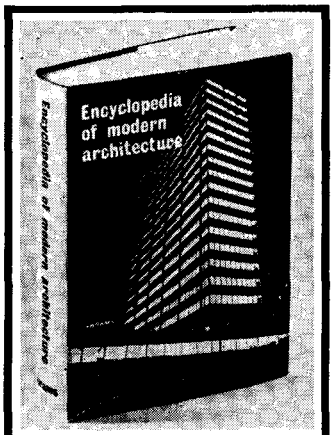

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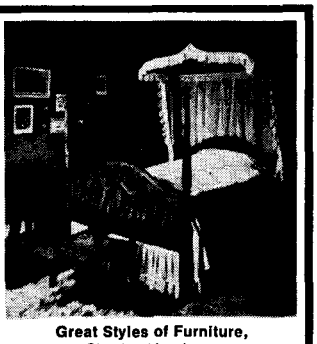

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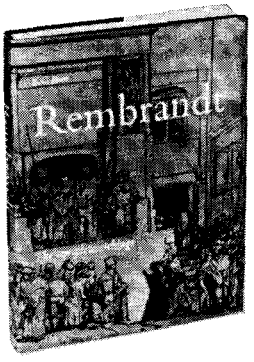

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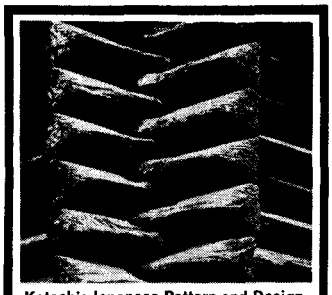

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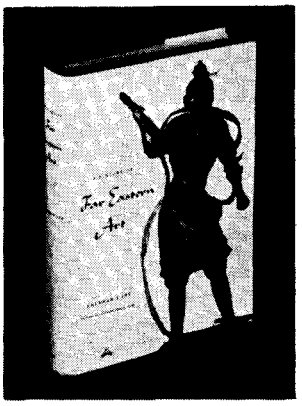

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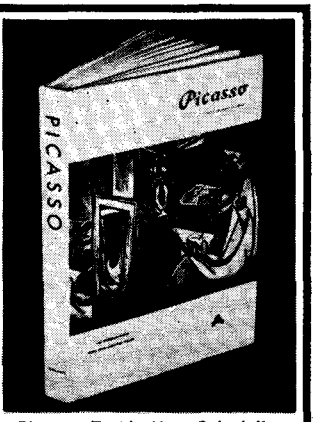

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MAX ASCOLI

Johnson Begins His Presidency

From the very first moment he found himself Chief Executive, Lyndon Johnson acted like a man just made for the job. Now, if possible, his hold on the Presidency has become tighter. From time to time, it happens in our history: a man reaches the highest office who turns out to be preconditioned to its appalling requirements. In Lyndon Johnson's case, there is a quality of vastness in the scope of his character that makes it difficult to size him up. It may turn out to be greatness.

In the public mind the broad horizon of his vision is clouded by doubts over his noble ultimate aims. He is for the rededication of America, for the revamping of the whole system of education, of social assistance, of work and of leisure. But, it is asked, How can he bring about his Great Society under the auspices of moderation and an ever-broadening consensus? This insistence on the discrepancy between the President's aims and his means could be considered impertinence were it not for a sneaking suspicion that perhaps the source of this impertinence is the President himself, who uses it as a smokescreen for his audacity.

The State of the Union message, quickly followed by all the other messages, is the best evidence of that audacity and of the President's sweeping, down-to-earth idealism. There is a sense of wholeness, of interrelations and unity, in all the reforms he demands in plain, unadorned language. He wants a vigorous release of national energy, starting first of all in the schools, where no effort should be neglected to make every child become an aware, active, participant of civilization, at the level he can reach.

This man Johnson, the consensus-obsessed middle-of-the-roader, merely wants to reset the institutional framework of the country, to rebuild the structure while it is still being lived in. Yet he never tires of spreading the word around: let's proceed thoughtfully, one step at a time. The tempo, the sequence of the steps, this is his responsibility and his secret. Already the pace has turned into a sustained gallop.

This tempo, this caution, this thoroughness in launching a program of national renewal are all answers to compelling necessities—and in most cases the answer is overdue. It is enough to read the long list of items concerning domestic issues in the State of the Union message to reach the conclusion that not one of them bears postponement: certainly not the one about conservation, or metropolitan areas, or the chaotic condition of our transportation facilities and their regulation—not to mention the need of new partnerships between the Federal government, the states, and the cities. The list goes on and on. Each issue has been raised over and over again with differing degrees of success by various of the President's predecessors, by Congressional committees, and by groups of earnest citizens.

But something has happened recently both to the very texture of American society and to the American conscience—the race issue first of all, and the awareness that hereditary or habitual poverty is a shameful blight. These and many more causes of national disorder cannot possibly be cured by eliminating the origins and consequences of any one of them alone and by itself. A frontal, many-pronged attack is needed, with no evil neglected and none considered as the cause of all evils.

The man who has launched the attack, this outsized Texan, acquired a notable reputation as a politician's politician. This reputation is of immense use to him even now, for it provides his statesmanship with a most effective protective coloration. Of course his native political shrewdness did not abandon him at the time when the nation as a whole became his charge. But still, there are so many people around ready to provide shrewd interpretations of what he is doing that he can sometimes afford to rely on their wits and to express, crisply and simply, his moral beliefs. He did it superbly in his State of the Union message: "A President's hardest task is not to do what is right, but to know what is right."

In the overabundant writing about the Presidency, one theme is constantly recurrent: the loneliness of the job. To judge from all appearances, if anyone is lonely at the White House, it is not Lyndon Johnson. With his overwhelming zest for life, he is attacking formidable issues, one after another or all at the same time, according to some plan of battle probably known only to himself. His is a one-man game and he enjoys it immensely.

Does he know enough about foreign affairs and the threats our nation faces abroad? Here again is one of the sides of his personality that cannot yet be measured. He wants to do a great deal of traveling, he said, and to acquire face-to-face knowledge of foreign leaders. This kind of personal diplomacy has never been the most effective—except that Lyndon Johnson has a capacity to learn equaled only by his capacity to make himself and the nation he leads respected.

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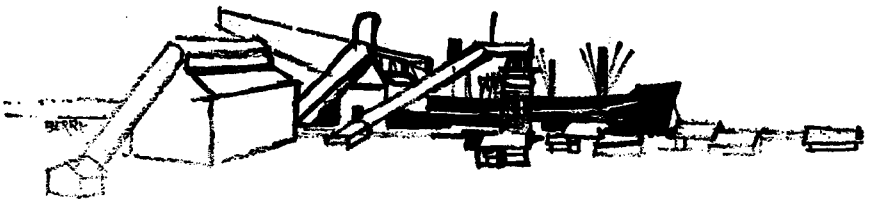

Rumbles from the Rank and File

A. H. RASKIN

THE VOICE of the rank and file, little heard in union negotiations in the mass-production industries in the last quarter century, is becoming a roar at the bargaining table—in a way equally distressing to union leaders and employers. The workers' sense of obliteration in a mechanized society dominated by giant corporations and giant unions is making rank-and-file pressure for more recognition the most assertive and disruptive force on the strike front.

Automation is not the prime source of this pressure, but it has accentuated the sense of individual expendability and even irrelevance on the production line. The resulting revolt makes it likely that negotiations in steel and other basic industries this year will be upset by conflict over tens of thousands of local grievances rather than by disagreement over such industry-wide problems as "complete career security" or other measures to cushion the impact of technological innovation.

Worker insurgence was responsible for the strike that made a quarter of a million General Motors workers idle for thirty-one days last fall after the United Automobile Workers had reached agreement on all basic elements of the best national contract in the union's history. The International Longshoremen's Association ran into a similar uprising when it put before its members in the Atlantic and Gulf ports a pact that coupled a guaranteed annual wage and other automation safeguards with a money package far more generous than any permissible under the administration's suggested wage-price guidelines. The UAW has worked harder than any other big union at building rapport with its rank and file, while the ILA ranks near the bottom in this respect. Yet both found themselves vulnerable to the membership's explosive insistence on a more direct voice in national negotiations.

The Quest for Flexibility

Lest similar dissidence in other major unions shatter the labor-management harmony that has kept strike losses at a record low level through all of the period since the 116-day steel strike of 1959-1960, union leaders are searching for ways to adjust the monolithic structure of big unionism to the multitudinous concerns of the union members. Their search is sharpened by an awareness that the frustrations of the duespayers are manifested not only in contract rebellions but also in eviction moves directed against the unions' international officers. Ordinarily, no corporation executive enjoys as much job security as the head of a giant union. But in recent months election challenges—notably in the electrical and steel unions—have reminded union chiefs that their lease on the executive suite is not, as many had assumed, good for a lifetime.

The structure of a big union makes it almost inescapable that the international president, no matter how conscientious, will find himself increasingly remote from the rank and file. He must be concerned with the investment of huge sums in union funds; he has to know thoroughly all the problems that affect the health of the industry with which he deals, from taxes to international trade; he serves on the boards of many public and private agencies; he is a frequent visitor at the White House; governors and mayors seek his guidance. All these preoccupations make it hard for the union head to focus on such problems as the cleanliness of factory toilets or restrictions on in-plant smoking.

Interestingly, these local pressures in the bargaining process are obliging management to re-examine some of its most cherished shibboleths about the evils of concentrated union power. Ask any employer what is wrong with unions, and the almost automatic reply will be their monopoly power. Even today every industry program for revising the labor laws contains some plan for making little unions out of big ones by returning collective bargaining to the plant level. But it is becoming increasingly plain that the fragmentation of bargaining authority merely multiplies headaches for the employer, with no offsetting reduction in labor's ability to hamstring his operations or undermine his competitive position.

THE CLASSIC industry complaint against excessive centralization has been that one man—John L. Lewis in the old days in coal, Philip Murray or David J. McDonald in steel, Walter P. Reuther in autos, James R. Hoffa in trucking—makes all the union's decisions on whether to strike or settle. Distasteful as this situation may be from the standpoint of democratic values, it has obvious advantages for a mammoth corporation over one in which committees representing a hundred or more locals can prolong a company-wide shutdown indefinitely while each holds out for a favorable settle-

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ment of the the diverse issues that mean the most to its membership.

How microscopic these issues are likely to be is perhaps best illustrated by a close-up look at the accommodations required to satisfy just one of the 130 shop committees with which General Motors had to reach individual agreements before the terms of its national pact could become operative.

The committee from Fisher Body's Livonia plant in Detroit informed its members that 284 hours of bargaining had produced such improvements in working conditions as:

> We at the local level obtained for you at Fisher Livonia in the year of nineteen sixty-four a privilege that has been in other plants since World War II, and that is, smoking in our toilets and restrooms. Imagine, boys and girls, you are growing up now.
>
> You, besides doing the same work, and maybe more than the old-timers in other plants, can now smoke in restrooms just like the people on salary have done at our plant since it opened. Also, on your own half-hour lunch period, you can now go to some other coffee area to have your coffee and cokes. Now the people working in Unit 2 will be able to see what Unit 1 looks like.
>
> Can you imagine, the shop committee found one alternate committeewoman who has never seen what was on the other side of the wall from where she worked all the time she has worked at the plant. . . .

And so on, and on, and on, through a long list of arrangements for coveralls and other protective clothing, job reclassifications, and individual pay adjustments.

Brokers of Diversity

There is nothing unimportant about these items. On the contrary, their very number and the intensity with which the locals pursue them is an index of the extent to which the rank and file once again feels itself stripped of dignity by submersion in the mass mold of factory life. It was precisely this feeling that caused millions of workers to flock into industrial unions in the early years of the New Deal.

It is ridiculous, of course, to suggest that nothing has changed in all that time. Indeed, it would be an even greater indictment of the unions than of management if more than a quarter century of organization had brought no genuine relief from the conditions of speedup and industrial autocracy out of which the mass-production unions were born. An elaborate structure of in-plant negotiation and arbitration has been instituted to adjust grievances on a day-to-day basis. The catalogue of what workers can do and what the boss can't do runs to many hundreds of pages in every big company. Union members are better paid and better protected than any workers in the world's history—so much so that their leaders' principal worry until the present rash of internal dissidence was that they were getting too apathetic, too remote, too middle-class in all their identifications.

Now these same workers are reaching out for identity through an assault that represents an equal threat to the stability of their unions and the corporations that employ them. In many ways the corporations have even more at stake than the unions in finding dependable methods for easing rank-and-file discontent within the framework of national negotiations.

This may seem an improbable statement considering the vigorous campaigns waged by employer groups to transfer internal union power from leaders to members through the Landrum-Griffin labor-reform act of 1959 and the attempts they are still making to break up big unions through the application of the anti-trust or other laws. Yet most big companies have found that the national officers of the unions with which they deal are their most trustworthy allies in maintaining the integrity of contracts and enforcing employee discipline.

Wildcat strikes, once epidemic in the auto and steel industries, have been effectively curbed by the parent unions. A similar check on industrial anarchy has been maintained by most other large unions. In negotiating contracts, the internationals play an indispensable role in acting as brokers among the divergent interests in their own membership so that plant harmony can be sustained under the terms of a mutual agreement. Thus, when skilled workers in many basic industries began threatening to secede from their unions in protest against the leveling effect of across-the-board pay increases, most industrial unions were able to persuade the unskilled and semiskilled majority in their own ranks that everybody's interests would be best served if wage differentials were provided to give the craftsmen more pay. It was no secret to the less skilled workers that the inequity adjustments were coming out of the general wage pot, but under union urging they agreed to make the sacrifice and thus keep the skilled employees from setting up craft organizations of their own. For employers, this internal allocation of wage bargaining was infinitely preferable to the headaches that would have come with a fragmented work force.

THE GULF that has formed between management slogans and management practices on the issue of monopoly unionism can be seen in current developments on the railroads and in the newspapers. The railroads had industry-wide bargaining long before steel or autos had even been organized. Over the years, government's role in the negotiation of railroad contracts has become so pervasive that the process of making free decisions in that industry has all but atrophied.

The rail unions, which originally counted on the government to give them more than they could get on their own, have become increasingly convinced that they would do better if they could restore some semblance of independent bargaining. The big obstacle, quite apart from the fact that both sides have got out of the habit of doing anything without a government crutch, is that a dead end in industry-wide negotiations raises the specter of a national rail strike and mass misery for the whole economy. To get around this stumbling block, the operating unions have been trying in recent negotiations to get the carriers to sit down with them on a road-by-road basis.

From the standpoint of continuity

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of transportation, such an arrangement would have the virtue of confining a strike to a single rail system and thus make it unnecessary for the White House to intervene in the national interest. But from the standpoint of the railroads, it would have the drawback of enabling the unions to exert an economic squeeze on one prosperous road until either its fear of losing traffic to competitive carriers or pressure from its major customers compelled it to capitulate. The pattern thus set would then be forced on all other railroads under threat of strike. So far the railroads have successfully resisted such divide-and-conquer tactics.

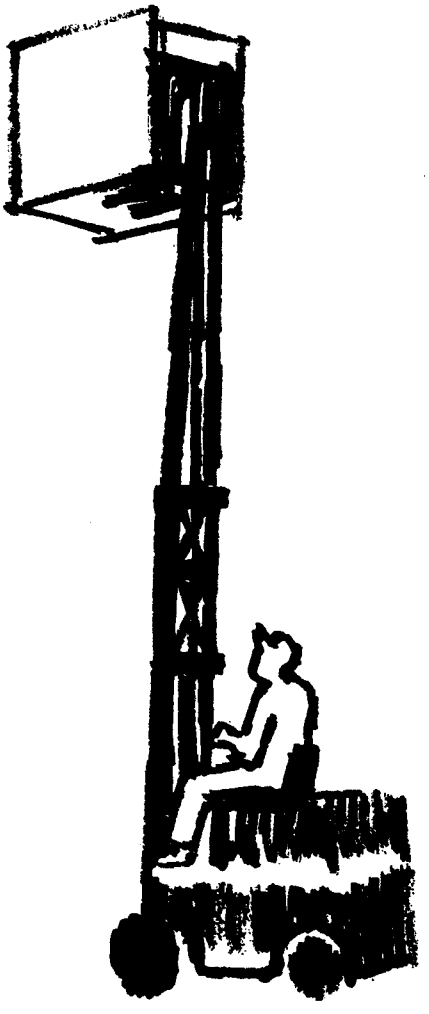
A comparable insistence on making bargaining units bigger, not smaller, is involved in the court battle the railroads are now waging to keep three unions of craft employees—the machinists, electricians, and sheet-metal workers—from calling a national strike to win wage increases higher than those recommended by a Presidential emergency board. Theoretically, the recommendations are not binding and the unions are free to strike. But the carriers argue that they filed their initial demands as part of a unit embracing all six shop unions, three of which are going along with the proposed pay increases. The railroads intend to go to the Supreme Court, if necessary, to keep the three holdouts from acting on their own.

One for All, All for One

Newspaper publishers in New York and Detroit have an even more embarrassing problem. Both cities have suffered long press blackouts—New York for 114 days two years ago and Detroit for 134 days through all of last year's Presidential campaign. A prime source of trouble in both shutdowns was that the publishers are obliged to conduct separate negotiations with ten unions of mechanical and editorial employees, each of which is able to call a strike and establish picket lines that will be respected by all other unionized employees.

This means that each union has the power to tie up the papers whenever it finds itself dissatisfied with terms that all others have accepted. To lessen the danger of being whipsawed into concessions by union pick-and-choose tactics, the publishers in New York and Detroit act as a body, treating a strike against one as a strike against all. This practice has now come under challenge in both cities. The printers, who called the last New York newspaper strike, are asking the National Labor Relations Board to uphold their right to bargain individually with each paper —and, by the same token, to strike against them individually. A similar plea has been filed by the Detroit pressmen and paper handlers. In one of the Detroit cases a trial examiner has ruled for the union; in the other the examiner has ruled for the publishers. No ruling has yet been made in the New York case.

The newspaper owners are in the uncomfortable position of having to ask a Federal board to hold that if any strike is called, it must entail a total cutoff of their city's papers, rather than a partial one. Yet the alternative is a compounding of the bargaining chaos already made inevitable by the newspaper unions' failure to establish any co-ordinating council through which all the unions can bargain with all the publishers at one time. Once again more bigness, not less, is the employers' answer to the problem.



THE UNANSWERED question, however, is how to provide, within the machinery of unified master negotiations, an adequate outlet for the rank-and-file ferment which caused so much dislocation in the 1964 auto talks and which seems sure to be at least as disturbing a factor in the crucial steel negotiations this winter. If the structure of union organization must mirror the structure of industries in which the big keep getting much bigger, what devices can be evolved to lessen the worker's sense that he is already the forgotten man in the meeting of giants at the bargaining table?

One readily apparent step is a vastly intensified application by management and labor, on a year-round basis, to the detection and eradication of sources of irritation at the plant level. Of the sixteen thousand local issues still unresolved when the UAW and General Motors reached their national accord, the great majority should have been cleared up through in-plant negotiations and grievance proceedings long before the company-wide contract talks reached the crisis stage.

While G.M. was shut down, Leonard Woodcock, head of the union's G.M. department, and his key aides joined with ranking company personnel officials in manning a special communications center at G.M. headquarters on a round-the-clock basis. Their function was to advise local representatives on both sides on what they could get or give without upsetting arrangements already made in other plants. A similarly consistent attempt at interplant and interlocal co-ordination all through the life of a contract would reduce the number of inequities that are transformed into dynamite when new contracts have to be negotiated. It would put some restraint on the inchworm tactics by which local union leaders endeavor to entrench themselves in office by reaching out for gains no one else is able to get, to the discomfiture of their opposite numbers in other locals. And, on the

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reverse side of the grievance ledger, it would inhibit plant managers from breeding disaffection among their employees by overzealousness in cost-cutting.

Melting the Ice

The degree to which top-level attention by management and labor can thaw the most frozen attitudes of hostility at the plant level was demonstrated dramatically at International Harvester and again at Kaiser Steel. In both firms grievances had piled to such mountainous heights that it would have taken a half century to liquidate them through normal processes. Wildcat strikes and other forms of direct action testified to the dreariness of the basic relationship.

David L. Cole, one of the country's foremost mediators, was asked to find a solution, with the blessing of both company and union leaders. He did such a good job of creating an atmosphere of responsibility through joint task forces and other mutual endeavors that both International Harvester and Kaiser have now become models of industrial harmony. His fellow members on the long-range committee that evolved the Kaiser "progress-sharing" plan assert that the plan never would have been accepted by the Kaiser employees without the climate of trust that Cole generated through his grievance-clearing success.

There is no reason why similar measures in autos, steel, and other major industries cannot defuse the tensions now welling up from the rank and file. Obviously, industry-wide bargaining will become a farce if every negotiation breaks down over such issues as installation of floodlights in parking lots or changes in individual work assignments. No conception of industrial democracy justifies shutting off a vital service or keeping a half million workers idle because of disputes that could be eliminated by better day-to-day communications at the plant level. The larger problems of automation are sufficiently complex to require the fullest application of social imagination by top management and labor without the diversion of their energies to the solution of disputes that can best be solved where they arise—when they arise.

The Beleaguered Pound And the Threatened Dollar

M. J. ROSSANT

THE impressive performance of the economy over the past four years, a period of steady growth without any serious distortions, seems to offer convincing proof that the government has acquired a lot of skill in handling the economic weapons at its disposal. To be sure, Washington does not deserve all the credit for the expansion, which got much of its thrust from the spending of business and consumers. Yet its record has been so superior to that of any previous régime that it has won new and widespread acceptance of the need for governmental intervention in the economy.

Of course, Washington is neither omniscient nor omnipotent. The President's economic advisers can err in their business forecasts; they can be seriously hindered by their dependence on Congress, which can revise or postpone the best-laid plans. But the greatest current threat to the administration's economic policies is the possibility of further trouble on the international monetary front.

There is something like an iceberg about international monetary pressures. Since they are partially visible, it is possible to take certain protective measures against them. But their full dimensions are extremely difficult to measure in advance. American officials are in constant contact with financial and monetary authorities in Europe; they talk daily and meet periodically—in Washington and Paris, Basel and Zurich—to review monetary developments. Yet these running talks did nothing to prepare Britain for the full-scale attack on the pound that developed in recent weeks; nor, for that matter, did they condition Washington for the shock occasioned by France's purchase in mid-January of $150 million in gold. This latest move, which touched off a wave of private speculative demand for gold in Europe, made clear that the dollar as well as the pound was under attack.

Calling Out the Reserves

The exposed position of these two key currencies, which are used as monetary reserves by other countries, stems from the deficits that they have both been running in their transactions with the rest of the world. Sterling is far the shakier, because its reserves are small and because it has a deficit in its trade account that leads many fiscal authorities to the conclusion that it is fundamentally overvalued. The dollar enjoys a big trade surplus, but it has a special burden because it is the one major currency freely convertible into gold abroad. Gold is no longer widely used as money, but it remains the universal medium of value, hoarded by savers who distrust paper currency in countries where hoarding is legal, and em-

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This month you can go backstage with Anthony Newley,

up to the podium with Leonard Bernstein,

and down the wide Missouri with Lewis and Clark.

(All you need is a television set.)

Other programs of special interest in February:

Concert in Pantomime
Red Skelton and Marcel Marceau perform entirely in pantomime and feature *Pinocchio*.
Tuesday, February 2 (8:30-9:30 PM)

Preview–Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.
Backstage view of new Anthony Newley musical and a look behind the scenes of a Kim Novak movie.
Thursday, February 4 (10-11 PM)

FDR
Documentary series devoted to Presidential years of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. With Charlton Heston and Arthur Kennedy.
Fridays, February 5, 12, 26 (9:30-10 PM)

Prophetic Voices of the Old Testament
Part One in a series of thirteen illustrated lectures by Dr. Hagen Staack of Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania.
Sunday, February 7 (1:30-2 PM)

The Twentieth Century
The Sailing Oystermen; Heartbreak Country: Italy's South; Siege at Leningrad; The Farmer: Feast or Famine. Walter Cronkite narrates.
Sundays, February 7, 14, 21, 28 (6-6:30 PM)

White Paper: The Oswald Case
Chet Huntley narrates investigation of President Kennedy's assassination.
Tuesday, February 9 (10-11 PM)

The Way Out Men
Documents the story of scientists at work on projects that will affect one's future.
Saturday, February 13 (8:30-9:30 PM)

New York Philharmonic Young People's Concerts
Observes 100th anniversary of Finnish composer Jean Sibelius. Leonard Bernstein conducts.
Friday, February 19 (7:30-8:30 PM)

Who Has Seen the Wind?
Drama about the United Nations, starring Maria Schell, Theodore Bikel and Edward G. Robinson.
Friday, February 19 (9:30-11 PM)

Children's Theatre: Return to Oz
Features drama based on Oz tales.
Sunday, February 21 (5:30-6:30 PM)

Cinderella
Rodgers & Hammerstein musical in a new production, with Ginger Rogers, Walter Pidgeon, Celeste Holm and Lesley Warren.
Monday, February 22 (8:30-10 PM)

I, Leonardo DaVinci
DaVinci's life story and influence on the intellectual history of the Western world. With Fredric March.
Tuesday, February 23 (10-11 PM)

Lewis and Clark
Commemorating and recreating the historic expedition of 1804-06 that opened up the Northwest.
Tuesday, February 23 (10-11 PM)

The Restless Sea
Special science program on oceanography.
Friday, February 26 (7:30-8:30 PM)

Inger Stevens in Sweden
The actress personally conducts viewers on a tour of her native land.
Friday, February 26 (8-9 PM)

Regularly Scheduled Programs

Monday to Friday: Today/Captain Kangaroo/Sunrise Semester

Mondays: CBS Reports

Tuesdays: That Was the Week That Was/Telephone Hour

Wednesdays: ABC Scope

Saturdays: Sunrise Semester/Mr. Mayor/Exploring/Wide World of Sports/Mr. Magoo

Sundays: Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up and Live/Bullwinkle/Camera Three/Discovery/Face the Nation/Watch Mr. Wizard/Directions/Issues and Answers/Sunday/Alumni Fun/Science All-Stars/Wild Kingdom/College Bowl/Twentieth Century/Meet the Press/World War I/Profiles in Courage/Walt Disney

NOTE: Times, programs, titles, and casts are subject to change. Please consult local listings.

Television Information Office
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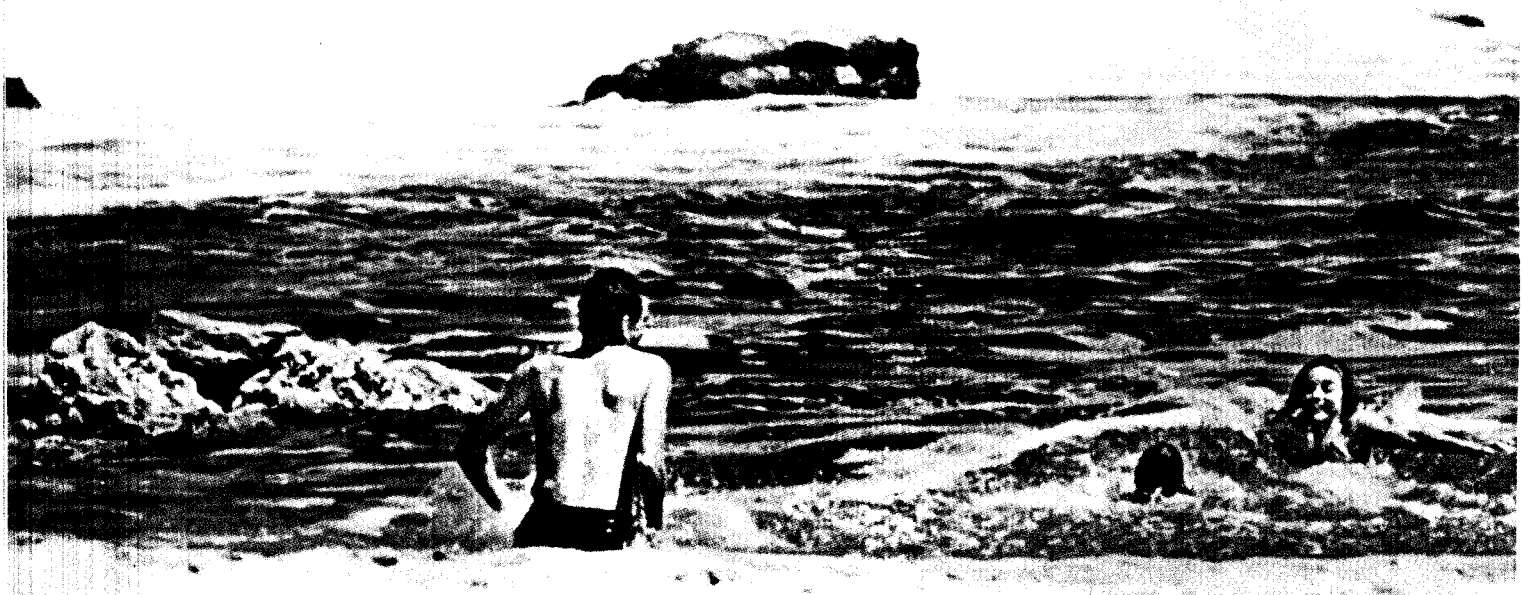
PROGRESS REPORT TO U. S. INDUSTRY FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO:



Puerto Rico—now the biggest tourist attraction in the Caribbean

(One reason: glorious beaches like the one you see above—600 miles of them. For more reasons, read on.)

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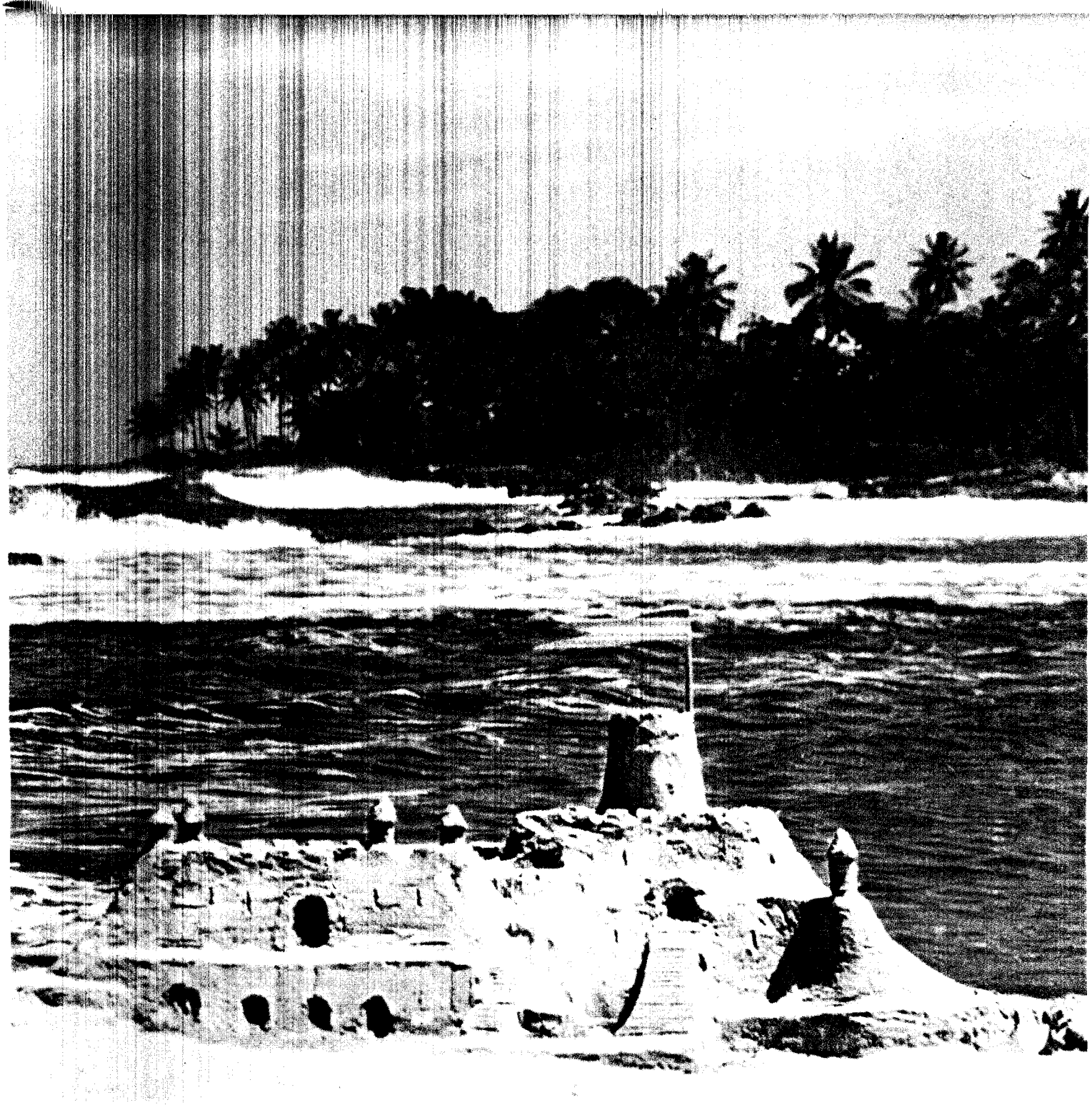

Sandcastle addicts find plenty of beach to build with in sunny Puerto Rico. Tom Hollyman photograph.

LAST YEAR, Puerto Rico welcomed more visitors than Jamaica, Haiti, Curaçao, Antigua, Grenada, Dominica, Guadeloupe and Barbados *combined.*

Yet there was plenty of room for everyone. You can always find a stretch of beach to yourself on this sunny island.

Here are some of the other reasons for Puerto Rico's soaring popularity.

Sunshine 355 days a year. Puerto Rico has a *dependable* climate. Temperatures hover around the high seventies all year.

Magnificent hotels. Puerto Rico has dozens of luxury hotels, and there are guesthouses in every part of the island.

Easy to get to. Flight-time to Puerto Rico is 3¼ hours from New York. Cost: $121.50 round trip. (4¼ hours and $190 from Chicago; 8½ hours and $369 from Los Angeles.) No passport or shots needed.

Tourists aren't the only visitors

Many vacationers in Puerto Rico are businessmen in disguise. They quickly become aware of the logic in branching out to this sunny island. There are handsome incentives. And a good life in store for their families. No wonder factories are opening up at the rate of *four a week.*

In fact, Puerto Rico now has one of the highest rates of industrial expansion in the world—outpacing the entire European Common Market.

Whether you're a vacationer or a businessman—or a bit of both—you will find Puerto Rico has a lot to offer.

See your travel agent. Or send for a free color brochure, "Puerto Rico Invites You." If you are a manufacturer, send for the brochure *and* for a detailed report on productivity. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Dept. C6H, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10019.

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ANALYSIS

Selectivity is a key factor in marketing today: Who are my best prospects?... Where are they?... Where does my distribution need strengthening?... How can I attain my quotas most efficiently?

Magazines can place your selling messages anywhere and everywhere. They reach your best prospects... WHERE you want to reach them... WHILE they are most receptive to ideas and information.

If yours is a specialized product for the most affluent, or a universal product for most everyone...

If its share of market is weak in San Francisco... or its competitor is strong in Sarasota...
... magazines are the answer.

Their selectivity... flexibility... SELLING POWER are exemplified by these pages.

MPA **MAGAZINES/THE GROWTH MEDIUM OF THE '60s!**

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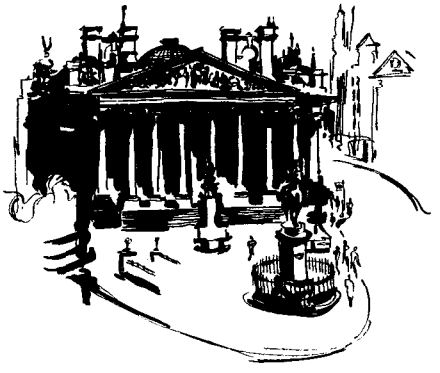
ployed by governments to settle their foreign debts. Because the dollar is tied to gold, foreign governments running a surplus in their accounts have a choice between gold, which is prized for prestige, and dollars, which are needed for trade and have the added virtue of earning interest. Normally, basic reserves are made up of both, with any excess channeled into interest-earning dollar investments.

This at least was the case in the early postwar period, when the United States sought to expand its deficit to help finance U.S. trade and investment abroad. Washington also encouraged sales of gold, because the nation's huge reserve at Fort Knox seemed a superfluous symbol of strength. Gradually, though, deficits became involuntary, and foreign dollar credits began to exceed the reduced size of the gold stock. There is no real danger as long as foreign confidence in the purchasing power and free convertibility of the dollar remains intact. But the size of the gold reserve becomes important if confidence is shaken and the dollar falls under suspicion. Then the administration could not count on the gold stock to insulate the domestic economy from the orthodox measures that are generally used to foil a monetary attack—namely higher interest rates, scarce credit, and cuts in government spending.

Both the sterling crisis and the French sale of dollars for gold are evidence that more serious trouble may lie ahead. In his State of the Union message, President Johnson took pride in the reduction that has been made in the deficit and in the revival of confidence in the dollar. But though the deficit has been trimmed from $3.3 billion in 1963 to about $2.5 billion last year, the buffer provided by the gold reserve is smaller than ever while potential foreign claims on it are at a new and still rising peak. Thus the administration's freedom of action is shrinking. Mr. Johnson has ruled out any drastic measures to erase the deficit for fear of jeopardizing domestic growth. Yet he may not be able to pursue the growth policies he desires because they may enlarge the deficit and start a run on gold. In effect, the tail that is the deficit, amounting to less than four-tenths of one per cent of the nation's goods and services, can wag the body of a $635-billion economy.

This prospect is not disputed by economists. But a substantial number argue that it makes no sense, economically or politically. In their view, the present international monetary system must be improved so that a debtor country can cure its imbalance with minimal damage to its own economy, not to mention international trade at large.

Many administration officials favor reforming the system in such a manner. The President himself has conceded that the economy in 1965 "faces a new handicap not of our own making" in the stresses and strains of international monetary pressures. Central to the President's concern is the fact that the administration is timing its next round of expansionary measures to take effect in the second half of the year, when the



current thrust of the economy may begin to dwindle. But if pressures on the dollar continue, which is likely, the extent of any such rejuvenatory treatment would be severely limited.

In the sterling crisis confronting Britain, the administration got a grim demonstration of what it may be like to counter a recession in a straitjacket or at least with one hand tied behind its back. The British ran into trouble as a result of prosperity that produced a booming demand for goods: while British manufacturers neglected exports in favor of sales in the home market, imports shot up, creating a big deficit in the nation's trade account. As a first cure, Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced a series of steps devised to curb demand for imports and stimulate exports without putting the brakes on growth. These halfway measures and the fumbling way they were introduced angered the Europeans, who were suspicious that Britain was attempting to reduce its deficit at their expense, and also generated uncertainty in the British business community, which in any case distrusted Wilson and the Labour Party. So a crisis of confidence was born, with both British and foreign financial interests seeking to protect themselves against a potential devaluation of the pound by unloading their sterling holdings.

To stem the flood, Britain finally resorted to the traditional defense of raising its short-term interest rates. Sterling remained under severe pressure, however, until an eleven-nation central-bank consortium got up an emergency pool of $3 billion to save the pound. Its funds were not made available, however, until the British agreed to return to orthodoxy by imposing high interest rates and tight credit to slow demand and deflate the economy.

While Washington and Whitehall joined in publicly hailing this latest and greatest display of international monetary co-operation, many officials in the administration and the new Labour government were privately annoyed with the "gnomes of Zurich," as Europeans in the central banking fraternity are sometimes called. This resentment is not new. But the previous misgivings were mild compared to the reaction that greeted the stiff price that the Europeans demanded for their co-operation in the pound crisis.

The Europeans regard their critics as unjustified. They point out that they have come to the rescue of the pound time and time again; now, they say, it is up to the British to take the kind of disciplinary action that will prevent a new crisis. They also maintain that they have exercised patience with the United States by practicing restraint in changing their dollars into gold, accelerating repayments of their U.S. debts, and going along with all the new fiscal techniques that have enabled the debtor countries to undertake external corrections with a minimum of internal constriction. Although they acknowledge American largesse during the postwar period, they feel

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that they have been much more lenient in their attitude than the United States was when they were in deficit and the dollar seemed preferable to gold.

But the Europeans are growing restive. The French, having already added to their gold stock, may make additional purchases to emphasize the strength of the franc relative to the dollar. At his infrequent but carefully planned press conferences, de Gaulle has indicated his skepticism that the United States can meet all its commitments with its gold stock melting away. Certainly, he has a right to feel pained by the financial "invasion" of French industry by American corporations when the U.S. deficit bulks so large. He is also piqued by the inflationary pressures plaguing France, which he claims are being "exported" by the U.S. deficit, which has been forcing France to take unwanted dollars.

De Gaulle's views are not entirely shared by other Europeans, but they support his stand against any liberalization in the rules that govern international finance. The French are for reform, but a reform that would make things even more difficult for a debtor nation and which would abolish the key role played by the dollar. By and large, the other Europeans are against any radical change, preferring to stick with the present system. They contend that they are willing to bend the rules on behalf of Britain and the United States by restraining their demands for gold and by agreeing to arrangements to provide time for adjustments, but they will not permit the rules to be broken. When the pound came under attack, they got their way with Britain and left no doubt about what they expect from the United States.

Opposing Pressures

The rise in British interest rates brought an immediate response from the Federal Reserve Board, which increased its short-term rates here to ward off a fresh outflow of dollars. Lest private bankers conclude that the Federal Reserve was giving them a green light to boost their own lending rates, Mr. Johnson moved promptly. Warning that climbing interest rates might endanger the business upturn, he insisted that measures to defend the dollar were not meant to involve restricting credit for banks or business borrowers. His plea quelled the move towards higher lending rates, but it emphasized that the administration may not be able to continue indefinitely to isolate the domestic economy from the pressures against the dollar.

With the economy still going strong, the President still has some room for maneuver. But administration officials agree they would be in serious trouble if the British pound were unable to make a comeback. For if Britain were forced to devalue its currency—the handicap not of our own making feared by the President—it would have immediate and serious repercussions on the United States. At the very least, it would shake confidence in the staying power of the dollar and force the administration to deploy all of its resources in its defense. The domestic economy would have to take the consequences.

Quite apart from the fate of the pound, the Johnson administration may also find itself hemmed in by home-grown pressures. It would be in trouble if the economy exhibited signs of flagging, which would call for easier credit, lower interest rates, and a more expansive budget policy, while protection of the dollar would require stable or rising interest rates and a budget that would dampen demand. The situation would be even worse if an inflationary wage-price spiral caused both a deterioration in the balance of payments and a falling off in the rate of economic growth. With steel negotiations just around the corner, this latter possibility looms clearly in the thinking of Washington officials. For steel is still the nation's basic industry, and if the negotiations end in an inflationary settlement, the way will be paved for excesses in other sectors, upsetting the balance of the national economy, widening the payments deficit, and shortening the life of its expansion.

This would mean that the best of economic worlds—growth without inflation—would be followed by the worst—inflation without growth. The dollar would be open game once again, sniped at from all sides in much the same fashion that proved so damaging to sterling.

Cushion or Cross?

Unlike sterling, the dollar has the protection of a heavy cushion of reserves in the Treasury's $15.2-billion gold stock. The catch is that some $13.5 billion of this, which is useful only in settling international debts, is required by law as "cover" for the domestic money supply regulated by the Federal Reserve. In the last four years, the amount of free gold has dropped from nearly $6 billion to less than $2 billion and is declining fast.

Ever since the deficit in the balance of payments became a problem, monetary experts, against stubborn resistance in Congress, have called for lifting the gold-cover requirement. Now, its elimination is essential to remove the risk of a run on the gold stock by European central bankers who harbor doubts about its availability once the free gold is exhausted. The Brookings Institution, in a study published in 1963, suggested selling up to $5 billion in gold to European governments as a means of sating their appetites and thus easing potential pressure on the dollar. The National Planning Association has recently gone to the extent of proposing a big rise in the dollar price of gold, arguing that this action would provide insurance against an international monetary squeeze while giving the United States ample time to erase the deficit in its foreign accounts without disturbing domestic stability.

But this would mean devaluation of the dollar and is not considered seriously by the administration, whose officials believe that it would touch off a complete collapse in present monetary arrangements. They do agree, however, that the gold-cover

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requirement is an embarrassing anachronism that must be lifted before it does any further damage. In fact, the administration is now planning to request a lifting of part or all of the cover requirement. Although the Federal Reserve can suspend the cover temporarily in the event of an emergency, a permanent change would need Congressional approval. But while the elimination of the gold cover would reassure the Europeans, it would not bring any reduction in the deficit in the nation's foreign accounts.

So the President must assume a more aggressive posture in reducing the deficit if he is to maintain his activist approach in domestic economic policies. This will not be easy. The administration has already achieved substantial cutbacks in its defense and foreign programs. Minor outflows can still be stemmed, but further major reductions would be damaging either to American diplomacy or to our export trade.

The most promising area for improvement is in the private sector, where outflows of capital have been running at a very high rate. Last year, the administration shut off part of the drain with its interest-equalization tax to discourage private investment in foreign securities. Congress gave the President authority to apply the tax also to bank loans of twelve months or more, which may well be exercised because of the big rise in lending to foreign borrowers. Conceivably, the administration could design similar measures to stem the outflow of direct corporate investment abroad, which constitutes another considerable drain.

Such measures, combined with a lifting of the gold-cover requirement, should help to cut the deficit and sustain confidence in the dollar without any boost in interest rates. Britain's unhappy piecemeal approach, which dealt successive blows to confidence, suggests that the administration will tie together its proposals for defending the dollar into a unified basis for action, one that will convince the Europeans that it is determined to get the deficit under control and bring home to Congress the importance of taking urgent action.

No-Strings Aid for the States?

ALAN L. OTTEN and CHARLES B. SEIB

As the Federal government's programs have grown in size and importance, so has popular uneasiness over the increasing centralization of power in Washington. The proposals advanced in President Johnson's State of the Union message, by increasing Federal involvement in a wide range of national problems, run the risk of aggravating another old problem—the relationship between Washington and the state and local governments. To counterbalance the trend toward greater Federal intervention, a plan to strengthen the role of the states by turning back to them a small portion of U.S. Treasury tax receipts was suggested last spring by Walter Heller, then chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

The plan was the object of detailed study by a Presidential task force headed by Joseph Pechman, a Brookings Institution economist. The task-force report has never been made public, but its general outlines have become well known. Each year the Federal government would set aside in a special trust fund an amount equal to one per cent of all personal income subject to tax. For example, in calendar 1965 this income will be about $250 billion, so the fund would start with about $2.5 billion, or approximately one-quarter the amount Washington now grants through specific programs to state and local governments. This amount, of course, would increase as taxable income rises. The money would be distributed automatically to the states, generally in proportion to population but with some adjustments to the needs of the individual states. Each state could spend the money as it pleased, except for one or two general prohibitions, such as those against outlays for highways or public buildings. The radical part of the Heller-Pechman proposal is this relative freedom from Federal controls.

In the past decade, Federal aid has more than tripled, from $3.1 billion in fiscal 1955 to over $10.5 billion this fiscal year, or about fourteen per cent of state and local general revenues. These grants now issue from a dozen different Federal agencies under nearly seventy programs, ranging from help for airports and low-cost housing to educational television and control of venereal disease. Most of them go to the states, a few directly to cities or counties. Some require no state or local matching funds, others anywhere from ten to seventy-five per cent. Some go on a straight population basis, others under a needs formula, and most under a combination of all three. The Heller-Pechman plan is above all an attempt to help states and local communities without expanding Federal powers and responsibilities. Washington has never before seriously considered such a solution.

To be sure, some Federal moneys were turned back to the states with no strings attached in 1836. Sales of public land were running at a high clip, a business boom had customs receipts soaring, and the Federal government was covering all its needs and had paid off its debts. The Jacksonians accordingly voted to distribute a $37-million surplus in four installments to the states. Three had been made when the panic of 1837 wiped out the remaining surplus.

The Task-Force Leak

In recent years the problem has come under study both in and out of Washington. The Eisenhower administration offered to yield some tax revenues to the states if they would take over some spending programs, but Congress balked at giving up the taxes and the states rebelled at assuming responsibility for the spending. Heller, who had learned at first hand of state problems as a fiscal adviser to Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman when Freeman was governor of Minnesota, began casting around for some new approach soon after becoming chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in 1961. Gradually, he and

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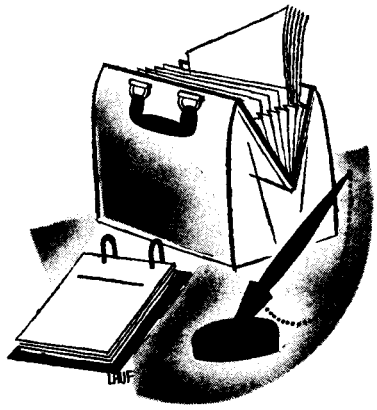
some of his economist friends came to favor the "no strings" grants.

The plan seemed an effective compromise between the advocates of more government spending and those who want stronger states. Or looking at it from the other end, it was likely to offend the planning-minded less than tax cuts and the states' righters less than new direct and tightly controlled Federal grants. The Pechman task force left its organizational meeting with President Johnson under orders to study all possible ways of helping the states and cities but with the clear impression that the President was chiefly interested in Heller's plan. This belief was strengthened when the platform adopted at the Democratic convention in August argued that "Consideration should be given to the development of fiscal policies which would provide revenue sources to hard-pressed state and local governments. . . ."

During the campaign, Barry Goldwater called for a portion of Federal taxes to be turned over each year without restriction to the states and cities, but he was merely reaffirming a long-standing conservative proposal that the various Federal aid programs be replaced by a single grant, while Heller wanted the no-strings grant to be in addition to existing programs. In the final days of the campaign, the White House issued a position paper that promised "intensive study . . . to methods of channeling Federal revenue to states and localities which will reinforce their independence while enlarging their capacity to serve their citizens." This was commonly interpreted as a Johnson endorsement of the Heller plan, and at that point some proponent of the plan leaked the outline of the task-force recommendations to the New York *Times*, along with the inference that the President had subscribed to them.

THE TACTIC boomeranged. The President, increasingly sensitive about news leaks that he does not himself generate, was annoyed. Opponents in and out of the administration, who had been wondering just how seriously to take the plan, decided to take it very seriously and jumped into action with a variety of objections. The ensuing controversy ended when the President, at a mid-December background session for newsmen, declared that premature disclosure of the task-force recommendations had generated such opposition that he had decided to put the plan aside at least for a year.

In the meantime, the plan will continue to have the support of a small band of government officials and academicians, chiefly undoctrinaire liberals, and, for obvious reasons, the Conference of State Governors. Their argument is simple: the entire Federal-state-local system



is being threatened by the inability of the state and local governments to meet their skyrocketing financial obligations. Their general spending has soared from $11 billion in 1946 to $64.8 billion in 1963—many times the percentage growth in Federal outlays. The total could easily top $100 billion by 1970.

General revenues of the states and localities, including Federal aid, have had a hard time keeping up. Debt has risen from $15.9 billion in June, 1946, to $87.5 billion last June. Their income, heavily dependent on local property taxes and state sales taxes, doesn't rise as rapidly with economic growth as does the income-tax-oriented Federal system. Many state constitutions bar income taxes; one state already has a five per cent sales tax, and three per cent and four per cent sales taxes are common. Attempts to raise existing tax rates or levy new taxes are politically risky. Moreover, state and local economic-development officials are pessimistic about the number of new industries that might be driven away by higher tax rates.

Federal tax receipts, on the other hand, are rising by about $6 billion a year. In fact, some economists worry because they are increasing so fast and taking so much spending money out of circulation that they may become a "fiscal drag" on the economy and cut off the current boom. These economists suggest with Heller that some of the Federal revenues be put back into circulation by giving them to the states and cities.

Opposition Arguments . . .

By far the most vocal opponents of this approach are those who fear the scheme would offer Congress a pretext to reject new or expanded specific grant programs or even to cut back existing ones. Many of these critics work for such grant-oriented departments as Labor, Commerce, Agriculture, and Health, Education and Welfare. But many more are to be found outside government in organized labor, education, welfare, and health groups.

The influential National Education Association is fearful that the plan could be used as an argument against specific aid-to-education legislation. As an official of a leading welfare organization put it: "I can see it now—we go up to the Hill to get more money for our programs and the congressmen tell us, 'Why, you don't need that. Mr. Heller is going to take care of all that.' "

The intense hostility of these groups reflects, in part, their high hopes for the new Congress. "This is a defeatist plan—the kind you come up with after you've tried everything else and gotten nowhere," one labor lobbyist argued. "You don't come up with it at a time like this, when your chances of getting everything you've always wanted are better than ever."

Many administration officials continue to tell these groups, as they always have, that direct Federal spending or tightly controlled Federal grants is the surest way of securing their goals. They contend that state and local governments are too apt to use the money for the wrong purposes—for padded state payrolls instead of housing, for graft and payoffs instead of mental health, for industrial development projects in the South to lure plants from the North instead of for education. Many areas, they charge, will merely use

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the Washington money to finance a cut in local tax rates.

"With the conservative nature of the [Oregon] legislature," said Representative Edith Green (D., Oregon), "and with the control of the lower house in the hands of Republicans who have never been willing to invest wisely in education . . . I would be even less than enthusiastic" about turning money back to the states without tight Federal strings. A union leader was even blunter: "The labor movement has had years of experience with state legislatures, and we just don't trust them. Practically every bit of progress we've made in the last thirty years we've made at the Federal level."

Quite a few union officials also fear that without control, funds returned to states and cities wouldn't be spent under the Federal wage, overtime, and fair employment practices standards governing most grant programs. Civil-rights groups fear that, directly or indirectly, Southern governors might use the funds to finance segregated schools.

Many local officials wonder how much of the new Federal funds would actually be passed along to them from the states. The National League of Cities (until recently the American Municipal Association), for example, representing officials of over thirteen thousand communities, asked the President either to send large chunks of the grant money straight back to the localities or to earmark it for state distribution to local governments.

Most business associations tend to oppose the plan, preferring that any revenue not spent by Congress for essential Federal programs be returned to individuals and companies in the form of tax cuts. The Catholic Church joined the ranks of the opposition for still another reason. No state now makes general grants to parochial schools, and most have specific constitutional bars against such aid. On the other hand, the chances of getting aid through a Federal education bill have been improving.

. . . and Proponents' Answers

In the face of such intense organized opposition, the plan's supporters are avoiding a public debate for the time being. Private talks with them, however, produce a detailed rebuttal that runs along these lines:

First of all, they do not want Congress to use the plan as an excuse to block specific new grant programs for education, mass transit, and the like, and do not see why it should. There is plenty of Federal money to go around, they maintain, to permit $2 billion or so of Federal excise cuts, $3 billion or so of extra spending for expanding the programs already voted by Congress, and several billions for new programs—as well as for their own plan for aiding state and local governments.

In any case, they argue, many states and cities are now so financially pressed that they will find it hard to avail themselves of new Federal grant programs that require local matching funds. This was a major argument advanced by the executive committee of the Governors' Conference in its endorsement of the Heller plan. Few states, for example, have given any sign of voting matching funds for the job-retraining program, even though this will become a requirement on July 1, if Federal funds are to continue to be available; thus far, the program has been entirely Federal.

Moreover, many officials believe that the traditional grant programs have induced many states and cities to overspend in order to qualify for extra Federal funds. For example,

they claim that many states build unneeded interstate highways because they get nine Federal dollars for each one of their own. Or they boost old-age assistance payments higher than they can afford because they get proportionately more Federal dollars. Poorer states in particular feel obliged to put a disproportionate share of their funds into Federally matched programs such as highways and airports rather than into such unaided programs as fire and police protection.

Backers of the Heller plan believe that the states would be less liable to waste the no-strings aid. They argue that reapportionment will soon produce legislatures better prepared to take care of urban and suburban needs, and that even now most legislatures are using every cent they can find for worthy causes such as education and mental health.

"At a meeting of governors and local officials a few months ago, I asked what they'd do if they suddenly got a big chunk of money to spend as they wished," one Washington advocate of the new plan reported. "Every one of them, and there were many from the South, said they'd spend it on schools—that this is where the pressure is."

To the objection that some states might use the new Federal funds as a device to permit tax cuts, the plan's backers reply that spending pressures are just too great. At the most, they predict, extra Federal money might be used to avoid or delay tax increases, thereby substituting dollars raised from a progressive Federal income tax for those raised through regressive state and local sales and property taxes.

Even the staunchest advocates of the Heller plan concede that a few Southern states might try to use the money for segregated schools and other segregated facilities. But they hope the new Civil Rights Act would prevent this. They would also be willing to incorporate some special civil-rights safeguards and guarantees that the usual overtime, prevailing-wage, and other labor standards apply to any use of the new Federal funds.

The Heller-Pechman plan, though not a part of President Johnson's program, will at least be discussed as Congress takes up various aspects of his wide-ranging legislative proposals. Perhaps after the special-interest groups have had a crack at getting what they want from the new Congress, after more reapportionment has been accomplished, and after business groups see that increasing Federal revenues are not going into tax cuts but into extra Federal spending, there will be less opposition to the plan. It then may be seen for what it is: a fresh approach to a basic problem of American politics. "Do you want to have stronger states or don't you?" asks Heller. "Frankly, I do. It's just that simple."

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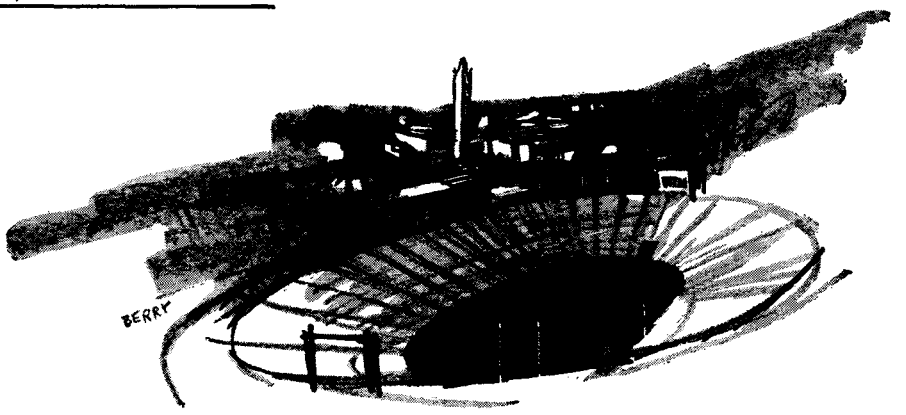

The Lesson of Berkeley

SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET and PAUL SEABURY

IMPROBABLE as it may have seemed to outsiders, events at the Berkeley campus of the University of California during the last three months of 1964 constituted a small-scale but genuine revolution. Through continuous violation of university regulations, sit-ins, almost daily mass demonstrations, and finally a strike by students and teaching assistants, the authority of both the administration and the faculty had become virtually nonexistent at Berkeley by December.

The immediate cause was the withdrawal of a privilege. In mid-September, political groups and civil-rights organizations were barred from a twenty-six-foot-long strip of pavement at the entrance to the campus that traditionally had been used as a site for informal debate. More recently, it had been used for fund raising and recruiting for off-campus activities, both forbidden on university property.

Much of the intensity of student reaction to this ruling is directly attributable to a change of attitude on the part of young people all over the country—a change brought about by their participation in the civil-rights movement. Moreover, both students and faculty members at Berkeley, as at other large universities, are unhappy about changes taking place in American higher education today. In protesting the university administration's political restrictions, they were also voicing a discontent with the nonpolitical aspects of university policy. American students today are more concerned with ultimate moral ends than with responsibility or consequences. The civil-rights movement has provided them with a moral cause, and the example of civil disobedience with a tactic.

In the last two or three years, a civil-rights movement emanating from colleges in the San Francisco Bay area has conducted sit-ins in hotels, restaurants, banks, supermarkets, and newspapers to demand the hiring of Negroes. Of the students arrested in these demonstrations, many were strongly influenced by various leftist groups that are currently stronger in the Bay area than anywhere else in the United States.

Steering Left

The campus protests crystallized in the organization of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) early in October, with Mario Savio, a twenty-two-year-old philosophy major, as its leading figure. Savio spent last summer in Mississippi and was arrested during a sit-in demonstration in San Francisco last spring. He is an emotional, effective speaker and calls himself a "democrat with a small *d*." Membership in the FSM is open to any individual or organization that chooses to affiliate. Hard-core support is estimated at around five hundred; by December as many as three or four thousand students were committed to all-out support, and according to FSM claims three thousand nonstudents from the university community were supporting the movement. The executive committee is composed of delegates from affiliated groups, elected representatives of graduate-student organizations, unaffiliated students meeting in assembly, and elected spokesmen for the nonstudents in the university community. But the real leadership of the movement is provided by a steering committee (appointed by the executive committee) of less than a dozen members who are considerably to the left of the executive committee. The political convictions of the steering committee notwithstanding, the overwhelming majority of student followers of the FSM, including those who have engaged in the sit-ins, are moderates whose politics are limited to the civil-rights cause. A minority within the FSM—drifting in and out of affiliation—has attempted to restrain the more extreme elements and has included at various times two democratic socialist organizations, the Young Democrats, and a variety of conservative groups, including Youth for Goldwater.

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The growth of FSM must be ascribed to a series of blunders caused to some degree by the fact that various crucial decisions have been made at different levels of the local campus administration as well as by the president, the regents, and the governor. Repeatedly, the university took an uncompromising position on a variety of matters, and then, under FSM pressure, backed down and accepted conditions it had previously rejected out of hand. Naturally, this behavior encouraged the FSM to increase its demands.

In mid-September, the students were demanding only the return of the "right" to carry on political activity on the twenty-six-foot strip; gradually this demand grew into an insistence on the elimination of all university restriction of political activity on campus. The FSM's position is that there should be no restrictions besides those imposed by the civil authority for any public place, and that the only enforcement agency should be the police—the reverse of the one usually taken by leftist student movements abroad and people concerned with academic freedom in this country. These groups have maintained that universities should govern their own affairs, and that public authority is a greater threat to academic freedom than university administration. Indeed, in much of Latin America, students are legally protected from arrest within university precincts. Some who oppose the FSM on this position point to the fact that the city and county police, summoned when a campus police car was held captive for thirty-six hours on October 1 and 2, were not sent into action against the students by President Kerr, who had authority over them. By the time of the second major sit-in on December 3, Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown took over control of law enforcement on campus and, against the explicit advice of the university administration, ordered police to arrest students sitting in at Sproul Hall.

THE MOST IMPORTANT reason for the weak position of the university administration during the past four months has been that there were few on campus, among either students or faculty, who supported its original position on the political-rights issues:

HOW THE CRISIS DEVELOPED

Since 1934, political fund raising, campaigning, and the recruitment of volunteers for off-campus activities have been prohibited at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Until last fall, this ban did not apply to a twenty-six-foot strip of brick walk just outside the Sather Gate entrance to the campus, where students have been recruited for a variety of off-campus civil-rights activities, including the picketing on September 4 of William F. Knowland's Oakland *Tribune*. The revocation on September 14 of this traditional privilege precipitated the following events:

¶ September 21—A "united front"—some twenty student groups covering the entire political spectrum—held a protest rally in the university administration building, Sproul Hall.

¶ September 28—Chancellor Edward W. Strong agreed to permit campaigning in certain campus areas, but reaffirmed that off-campus political action could not be mounted on university property. A student leader replied: "We will settle for nothing less than total victory."

¶ September 30—Eight students, including Mario Savio, head of the University Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, were cited for deliberate infraction in a test of Strong's ruling, while hundreds more signed statements declaring that they were equally responsible.

¶ October 1—After an all-night sit-in at the dean's office, Chancellor Strong announced indefinite suspension of the eight. More test infractions culminated in the immobilization, for thirty-six hours, of a campus police car by a student mob.

¶ October 2—Some 450 police officers were called to the campus by University President Kerr as Governor Brown announced that "This attempt . . . to use the campus unlawfully . . . will not be tolerated." During the afternoon, however, Kerr agreed to a rules review on condition that all protest demonstrations cease.

¶ October 3-4—The "united front" formed the Free Speech Movement (FSM) but agreed to respect the moratorium on demonstrations during hearings to be held in the following weeks.

¶ October 21—The Academic Senate's hearing committee requested reinstatement of the eight students during the hearings. Chancellor Strong refused.

¶ November 5—The tripartite committee (students, faculty, administrators) set up to review campus rules was deadlocked. Faculty members favored lifting bans on advocacy of all but illegal off-campus activities; the FSM insisted that the question of legality should be determined by the courts.

¶ November 9—Twelve hundred students rallied in Sproul Hall. The moratorium ended and fund-raising tables were set up.

¶ November 10-11—Seventy students were cited for violations, and teaching assistants voiced support of FSM.

¶ November 12—A committee of the Academic Senate criticized university policy and recommended immediate reinstatement of the eight suspended students.

¶ November 20—The board of regents reinstated the eight and announced that fund raising and recruitment would be allowed, but that students could not advocate illegal activities.

¶ November 30—Chancellor Strong notified several of the eight previously suspended students, including Savio, that they faced new disciplinary action. The immediate effect was to increase FSM support.

¶ December 1—The FSM issued a twenty-four-hour ultimatum: charges must be dropped and the legality of political activities be determined by the courts, or "the university machine will come to a grinding halt." The ultimatum was rejected.

¶ December 2—Savio led some eight hundred students into Sproul Hall for an all-night sit-in.

¶ December 3—Governor Brown sent in police and most of the sit-ins were dragged forcibly from the building and arrested. Graduate students picketed in protest and faculty members raised bail.

¶ December 4—Graduate students and teaching assistants went on strike.

¶ December 7—After a week-end conference with department chairmen, President Kerr announced a compromise: amnesty for the arrested students, but a postponement of a decision on political advocacy. Savio tried to use Kerr's microphone to announce a rally and was hauled off by police, then allowed to return.

¶ December 8—The Academic Senate provided for an emergency committee and adopted a resolution urging full freedom of speech, advocacy, and organization.

¶ December 18—As Christmas vacations began, the board of regents also set up a committee, asserting that it contemplated no limitations beyond the purview of the First and Fourteenth Amendments, but will prohibit "conspiracy" to commit illegal acts off campus.

During the vacation period, Chancellor Strong was replaced by Martin Meyerson, dean of the College of Environmental Design, who pledged "utmost fairness" to the students.

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that a university has the authority to restrict the collection of funds for, or the advocacy of, off-campus political activities. The administration, in fact, modified its original position by early November and agreed to all the major student demands except the right to advocate and plan unlawful actions—chiefly the sit-ins. This position was ratified by the regents, and though the FSM continued to denounce university policy, it seemed at the time that it had lost the bulk of its support. The university returned the moral advantage and mass backing to the FSM by bringing charges over the Thanksgiving weekend against Savio and three other leaders for having organized the original sit-ins and capturing the campus police car almost two months earlier. To many, this seemed an implicit violation of the signed agreement between the university and the student leaders that had brought the police-car episode to an end. The December sit-in and strike were a result of this action.

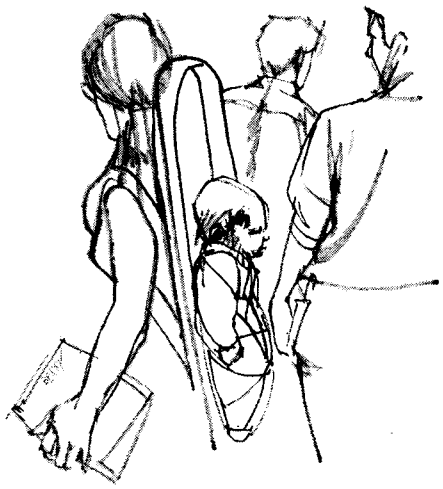
Kerr as Prophet

The opposition to the FSM among faculty members and students was based on antagonism to the use of illegal means, such as campus sit-ins and deliberate violations of university regulations, to attain political ends that might have been gained through conventional channels of redress. But these critics, many of whom felt that the use of illegal tactics was part of a conscious effort by extremists to undermine faith in the democratic system, were constrained to silence by their belief that the university's position was morally indefensible.

The real meaning of these events cannot be understood by limiting the discussion to an analysis of the right of on-campus advocacy, or of the use of illegal and extremist methods. Despite the FSM's name, free speech has never been the central issue—Savio has admitted as much. The revolt is not just against the injustices of society at large but also against the university as a microcosm of that society. To fully understand the student and faculty response, one must recognize that the American university community is becoming increasingly restive as a result of changes in our system of higher education. Ironically, a vivid description of these changes can be found in *The Uses of the University,* by the president of the University of California, Clark Kerr.

Kerr warns that major universities have become predominantly research institutions; that teaching, particularly on the undergraduate level, holds little interest for many on the faculty; that administrators tend to become preoccupied with raising funds and gaining influence; that faculties have little institutional loyalty, with many professors choosing their universities on a careerist basis. These circumstances produce considerable resentment among students, and Kerr, in fact, predicted a sharp increase in tensions and conflicts between students and instructors.

The large degree of political free speech long enjoyed at Berkeley, the size and eminence of the university, and the high caliber of its students and teachers are the very reasons



why a mass student uprising took place there. Berkeley students have always made more use of their political rights to meet and speak freely on campus than American students elsewhere. Every sort of extreme-left group is represented—the DuBois Club (Communist), the Young Socialist Alliance (Trotskyist), the Independent Socialist Club (Revolutionary Marxist Socialist), and the Progressive Labor Council (Maoist)—and so are various rightist groups. Even the American Nazi Party has been presenting speakers on campus and has announced that it will open headquarters nearby. The new student revolt began precisely where students were most free to organize.

For years, Berkeley has been evolving into a research center perched precariously on a mountain of somewhat neglected undergraduates. These students feel remote from the internationally renowned on the faculty. To them, Berkeley is a big, impersonal place, and their restlessness has found an outlet in the strikingly fervid support the FSM obtained even from students with little interest in politics. These young people and many on the faculty cherish the notion that the revolt will help to establish better contact between students and faculty and to increase autonomy of the Berkeley campus within the vast machinery of the "multiversity"—nine campuses of the statewide university system geared into a cumbersome synchronization.

ALTHOUGH faculty recommendations are accepted by the administration on most matters of educational policy, it is the multiversity faculty, represented on an all-state representative body, that speaks for the professors of the university. This arrangement leaves Berkeley representatives in a definite minority. Many important decisions have been made by the statewide Academic Senate or by the president's office. While these decisions may be defended as necessary for the advancement of higher education in California, they are apt to be resented by Berkeley faculty members who, rightly or wrongly, feel that their interests and academic eminence are being sacrificed to the system. Many feel that it was a mistake to increase the student body to 27,500 and that the concept of an all-state university has taken from Berkeley the right of deciding which applicants may be admitted there. But perhaps the most burdensome decision forced on Berkeley by the need for a co-ordinated statewide approach is the establishment of the year-round four-quarter system. In the eyes of many professors, this creates an academic production line that processes larger and larger numbers of students through already overburdened facilities.

The FSM leadership has denounced all efforts to analyze the sources of

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the Berkeley revolt in any but its manifest civil-liberties context. Yet Mario Savio explained the student protest to a meeting of the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance in these terms: "The most important concept for understanding the student movement is Marx's notion of alienation. Its basic meaning is that the worker is alienated from his product, but the concept is applicable to students too. . . . The students are frustrated; they can find no place in society where alienation doesn't exist, where they can do meaningful work. Despair sets in, a volatile political agent. The students revolt against the apparatus of the university. This is the motive power of the student movement."

Though the ideology of the movement has been directed mainly against the university, the idea of alienation has become the intellectual rallying point for a rejection of all power centers. The tragedy is that many within the university community who have diverse grievances against aspects of the university have been drawn into support of a movement whose leaders have seen every

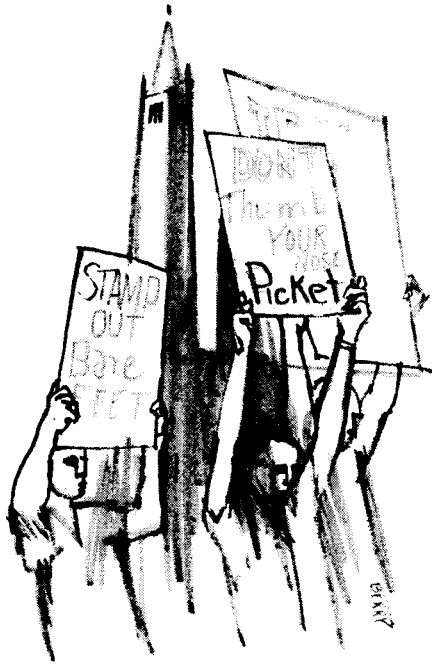
crisis as an opportunity to humiliate the university administration and to demonstrate the hollowness of authority.

Following the arrest on December 3 of about eight hundred students for occupying the university administration building, Sproul Hall, many faculty members who had previously ignored the struggle came to the support of the few professors who had defended the FSM, in principle at least, almost from the start. Graduate students and teaching assistants went on strike. Growing faculty support for the FSM resulted not only in the passage of resolutions backing much of the FSM position by the Berkeley Academic Senate (assistant professors and above), but also in the emergence of a variety of faculty grievances against the multiversity system. This accumulation of grievances naturally gravitated to the aggressive leadership of the FSM protest. In early December, dozens of new student organizations, closely linked to the FSM leadership, sprang up to advance special causes.

Thunder on the Right

Outside the closed if sharply divided society of the campus, right-wing groups and political leaders are moving swiftly to reduce the liberal influence of the university on state politics. When the legislature opened on January 4, two bills calling for expulsion of students and faculty members who participated in the Berkeley demonstrations were introduced by a conservative state senator. Other legislators have stated that the university budget is certain to suffer; there are reports by reliable sources that the governor's office now feels that the time is propitious to introduce a larger tuition fee; important leaders of both houses have stated that another eruption is certain to result in a legislative inquiry; and that perennial source of encouragement to the formation of Communist-dominated united fronts, the House Un-American Activities Committee, has been strongly hinting that it will soon appear in the picture. Within the university structure itself, members of the board of regents have raised questions about the system of faculty self-government and have referred ominously to the possible need to re-evaluate their "delegation of certain specific but revocable powers to properly constituted academic bodies."

Perhaps the most destructive part of this affair has been the extent to which civil disobedience and its consequences have pushed the external community and the university in two opposite directions. The community at large has reacted to events by moving to the Right; within the university, the sight of eight hundred young persons being dragged off to jail brought many previously apathetic students and teachers into the FSM camp. Most



of these newcomers to the struggle see it as a fight to defend students against oppressive authority. They remain ignorant of the political forces at work within the steering committee of the FSM, and of its highly developed organization.

By the time the Berkeley revolt reached its crest, from December 3 to 6, the steering committee had a highly efficient organization at its disposal. FSM members, in touch with a central command post, covered the campus from one end to the other with walkie-talkies, and were able to learn of speeches and actions taken at closed faculty meetings as they occurred. The steering committee systematically rounded up the "right" faculty members to attend meetings and vote.

THE STRIKE, which closed down at least half the university, convinced many that peace was worth any price. A number of conservatives on the faculty who disagree in principle with the FSM reluctantly agree that the university has to give up its power to regulate political activities on campus, and on December 8 voted in the Academic Senate for a motion

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that incorporated almost all FSM demands. While many voted on principle, others voted for it as a strike settlement by the weaker party.

The faculty voted for the right of free speech on all issues and the right to organize for off-campus political action, including civil-rights demonstrations. The regents accepted all but two points. First, they refused to yield to a committee of the Academic Senate their authority over matters of student discipline for infractions of rules governing political matters. (They did provide, however, that the faculty could take part in local campus administration judgment of such infractions.) Second, while affirming the rights of students and their organizations to advocate anything on campus that is lawful under the provisions of the First and Fourteenth Amendments, the regents continued to insist on the university's right to prohibit *organized* efforts to prepare illegal off-campus activities—a restriction aimed primarily at the organization of civil-rights sit-ins. A special emergency faculty committee, which had been elected on December 14 to represent the Academic Senate and which had discussed these issues with the regents before they met, concluded that the new regulations promised by the regents for early this year will grant almost all that the faculty and the FSM have demanded in the area of free speech.

The new year brought an uneasy truce. During the holidays, the faculty emergency committee worked hard to obtain a broad consensus for reasonable regulations governing "time, place, and manner" of political activity acceptable to faculty, students, and regents. On January 2, just before classes resumed, the regents appointed a new acting chancellor, Martin Meyerson, the forty-two-year-old dean of the School of Environmental Design. Meyerson already has shown strength and sophistication in dealing with the crisis, and he commands wide support from all major groups within what had been a badly divided Academic Senate.

This truce has been welcomed by the great majority of the students. For most of them, the events of the past fall were emotionally shattering. In delaying a resumption of civil disobedience, the FSM leadership has shown awareness of this changed mood. The imminence of final exams in late January has introduced a note of realism into the picture, even among the FSM supporters. Noon rallies on the steps of Sproul Hall do not attract the throngs of the pre-Christmas period. Within the faculty, there is now a general satisfaction with the promised reforms and a feeling that any further acts of civil disobedience by the FSM cannot be tolerated.

The Aftermath

Thus it might seem that peace is in sight at last—but there are signs to the contrary. Though moderate in action since the resumption of classes, the leaders of the FSM have denounced the regents' "horrendous" policy as a total rejection of their demands, and are now speaking of new civil-disobedience tactics, including disruption of registration in February. And beyond other questions of political freedom, leaders of the FSM and the many student clubs and neo-unions organized within each department are raising such issues as required consultation with students on the content of courses, the nature of the curriculum, the extent to which the university fosters research at the expense of teaching, and so forth.

To restore the Berkeley campus to anything resembling a normal first-rate American university will be immensely difficult. It will require a high and rare level of administrative leadership and intelligence. It will also require a faculty which is as sophisticated politically as it is intelligent academically, and which understands how a few extremists can make the large majority of moderates do its bidding.

Most shaken by this sudden crisis, however, is the human trust that is the ethical basis of any university—or, for that matter, of any community. This delicate though often impersonal confidence between teachers and students, professors and professors, students and students, has been severely breached. Whatever the outcome, the wounds left by suspicion and resentment over an apparent betrayal of trust will remain for a long time. This is a poignant future problem for the teacher and his students. Once classrooms have been bitterly divided with covert and overt defamation of faculty members as "stooges of the administration" or "tools of the FSM Steering Committee," the community of scholarship is clearly endangered.

The FSM leadership was first responsible for spreading this atmosphere, but now everyone is somehow involved. A divided faculty will not long command respect from its students, and the extremists can be counted upon to make the most of any division.

THE BERKELEY REVOLT is not just another California curiosity. This new style of campus political action may affect other campuses, and eventually our national political life. The new student generation is brilliant and aggressively serious. The number of graduate students who spend years at a university increases steadily. And the frustrations so eloquently described by Clark Kerr in *The Uses of the University* occur everywhere. The student leftist movements are growing and probably will continue to grow. Student groups at many colleges have already voted support of the FSM, and Mario Savio has addressed students at several universities, including Columbia and Harvard. The indifference to legality shown by serious and dedicated students threatens the foundations of democratic order. Extremism in the pursuit of liberty was quite recently a favorite slogan of the radical Right. Berkeley has shown that anyone can play this game. But while the game goes on, this great university is in danger of losing its stature and its independence.

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India Cracks Down On Its Communists

PREM BHATIA

NEW DELHI

ON DECEMBER 13 and 14, the chief ministers of the sixteen Indian states met in New Delhi, as they do periodically, with the central government's home minister, G. L. Nanda. By late afternoon of the second day, the chief ministers had finished their conference and the press corps was duly briefed. But their principal business was not over. That evening Nanda invited them to an informal dinner and told them that he had decided to arrest nearly a thousand key members of the left-wing—or pro-Chinese—group of India's divided Communist Party.

For a fortnight the chief ministers kept the plan secret from all but the top police officials in their states. These officials later gave their deputies sealed envelopes containing detailed instructions that were not to be opened until zero hour for the operation—4 A.M. on December 30. Then, within a few hours, more than five hundred left Communists were arrested. As of mid-January, the total is nearly eight hundred.

All the top leaders were netted on the first day. These included members of the party central executive, several members of parliament, and a few others who until July, 1959, had been ministers in India's only Communist régime, in the state of Kerala. The country was taken totally by surprise. Not even all the members of the cabinet were informed. In a country the size of India, government secrets are hard to keep, especially with Communist cells in the administration, but the home minister did his job with exemplary efficiency.

Mr. Nanda's Preventive War

Because the government had not prepared the public for the event, its motives immediately became suspect. A general election is due in Kerala, the chief stronghold of the left Communists, in March. The Congress Party had governed Kerala from 1959 until five months ago, when it was overthrown by a revolt among its own members. The prospect of the coming general election clearly pointed to a Communist victory, and the mass arrests of the left Communists were commonly taken to mean that the general election was being made safe for the central government's vast Congress Party. Even traditional supporters of the government began demanding evidence of the illegal Communist "conspiracy."

Although many in India are agreed that the pro-Chinese Communists are a greater menace than the party's Soviet-oriented right wing, few believe that they were planning an uprising. The government, however, insists that for several months it had sufficient evidence to justify the arrests and that it stayed its hand only to gather more information. It has now promised to issue a white paper on the conspiracy. Meanwhile, certain reasons for the delayed action may be surmised. First there was a lack of decision on the part of the government. The mass arrests of Communists represented a major operation, and much silent preparation was needed. Furthermore, the government was uncertain about political repercussions. Thus the decision was taken only in early December. In short, although there was no immediate threat, a dangerous situation was building up. The Indian intelligence service had intercepted numerous secret intra-party circulars and some private correspondence. According to the government, these documents, together with discussions at party meetings reported by police undercover agents, revealed a formidable picture of Communist intentions.

These intentions have to be read against the split of the Indian Communist Party into left and right wings that occurred in July, 1964. In parliament, the party has been divided under separate leaders, and the national Election Commission has recognized each faction. The right wing, under S. A. Dange, owns ideological loyalty to the Soviet Union and is openly hostile to China. The left wing, led by A. K. Gopalan, is now clearly identified with the Red Chinese line and describes Dange as an "imperialist stooge."

Almost since the formation of the Communist Party of India, there has been a difference of emphasis between its right and left wings. The first fissures appeared in 1948, when the Communists started an insurrection in Telengana, now part of the southern state of Andhra Pradesh. Certain leaders in the party at that time, including Gopalan (who was then in the right wing), opposed the insurrection, but the leftists had their way.

MANY of the differences between the two wings in the early years after independence were personal as well as ideological. The left wing claimed to be "revolutionary" and "activist," and was opposed to the leadership of the late Ajoy Ghosh, who was then the party chairman. At that stage, the leftists were not nearly so closely aligned with China; in fact some of them were critical of Mao Tse-tung for his dependence on an agrarian rather than an industrial revolution. The leftist alliance with China came only in the fall of 1959, and grew stronger as the Sino-Indian dispute and the ideological split between Peking and Moscow deepened.

By October, 1962, when the Chinese opened their military offensive against India, the leftists were openly friendly to China. From then on, they rejected the view that the Chinese had committed aggression. In public speeches, in party resolutions, and in secret circulars, they described China as "friendly" and referred to the Sino-Indian border clash as a result of "misunderstandings" created by foreign imperialists and encouraged by the native bourgeoisie under Nehru.

During 1963, the rift widened but public knowledge of it was still rather vague. The government intelligence services, though, were well aware of developments, including

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the increasingly hard line taken by the leftists against the Nehru administration. The left-right dispute came out into the open for the first time early last year.

AT THAT TIME, a weekly journal in Bombay created a sensation by publishing certain letters written by S. A. Dange forty years earlier. Dange, then already in the Communist Party, had been jailed by the British for subversive activities. In these letters, written from prison and addressed to the British authorities, Dange requested his release, suggesting that his "influential position in certain circles" might be of some use to the British government. Although the letters related to a long-dead issue, they served as useful ammunition for Dange's leftist opponents, who retroactively condemned him as a traitor.

No one knows how the letters (which had been gathering dust in the national archives in New Delhi) were leaked to the Bombay paper, but their publication was useful indeed to the left wing, which launched a sustained campaign of vilification against Dange and his right-wing followers. Much of the dispute was carried on in public and naturally came up for consideration at a meeting of the Communist Party executive.

At this meeting, the leftists demanded the overthrow of Dange but were defeated by a rightist majority that managed to have thirty-two leftist members of the executive expelled from the party. This ejected group thereupon formed the nucleus of a separate party. The real break, however, came only in July of last year, at a conference of the leftists at Tenali in Andhra Pradesh, which, after Kerala, is the Indian Communists' most powerful stronghold.

Simultaneously, the government (possibly with the help of informers in the right wing) seized a secret leftist draft program. This was dated February 15, 1964, and signed by three prominent leftist firebrands—M. Basavapunniah, P. Ramamurti, and H. S. Surjeet. The program spelled out in detail the leftist attitude toward China.

Paragraph 61 of the draft, for instance, bewails "this unnecessary war between India and a friendly socialist state [that] had its origin in boundaries established by imperialists." The document then goes on to say: "The Indian and Chinese people must bear the burden of this struggle which was caused by unjustified provocation of China by reactionary elements in the Indian Government." Paragraph 62 adds: "The [Indian] Government has deliberately alienated the greatest defender of peace and freedom in Asia and in doing so has split the Afro-Asian neutralist camp."

This draft program was hotly discussed at the Tenali conference. Not only were speeches made denouncing the national outrage against the Chinese aggression, but the leftists dispelled all doubts about their admiration for China by displaying a large portrait of Mao Tse-tung on the rostrum. Since the meeting was secret, the public remained unaware of what had happened. A few months later, however, the leftists displayed a portrait of Chou En-lai at a public meeting.

Last October, the left group held another congress in Calcutta, where the pro-China line was further emphasized. Reports of some of the speeches made at the meeting leaked out to the press. So did an important amendment to the Communist Party constitution. In 1958, through a special resolution, the party had pledged itself to "peaceful transition" to Communism. The left congress in Calcutta deleted that part of the resolution and committed itself anew to a violent revolution for the attainment of Communism.

Liberators from the North

Almost concurrently the government seized a secret circular of the left group advocating the violent overthrow of the government and underground preparations for a "final armed insurrection for the liberation of the Indian masses." The Chinese, said the circular, "are not aggressors but liberators, and the activities on the northern borders of the country were an extension of the revolutionary struggle in the southern part of the country." The reference to "the southern part of the country" covered the 1948 insurrection in Telengana. According to this circular, Kashmir, Kerala, the North-Eastern Frontier Agency, and Nagaland are the "weakest links" in India's defenses. If they are brought under control, the circular adds, the whole country can be brought under Communism.

MEANWHILE, the government had come under strong pressure from parliament to take note of the unchecked activities of the left Communists. Already worried, the government intensified its investigation and discovered that the left group had been receiving financial assistance from China through certain foreign missions in India. The Indonesian consulate in Calcutta was suspected and carefully watched; it has since been closed down at Indonesian initiative. The consulate-general of North Vietnam in New Delhi was also reported to have acted as a channel for the disbursement of funds from Peking. The government then decided to act.

In a broadcast delivered three days after the arrests began, Home Minister Nanda stated the reasons for the offensive against the left Communists: "Important leaders of the left Communist Party have noted with satisfaction the fact that, unlike the situation at the time of the revolutionary activities in Telengana, there is now a Communist power across the Indian border which makes revolutionary activities within this country far more opportune. The object of the party now is to promote internal revolution to synchronize with a fresh Chinese attack."

These two sentences fairly sum up the position as it is officially viewed in India. It does not prove that an insurrection was imminent, but it does point up a definite direction in the thinking and activities of the left Communists. The home minister also explained the reason why the arrests were delayed. The prac-

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tice of democracy in India, he pointed out, prevents drastic steps against the liberty of the individual, but the time had now come to save democracy by curtailing the freedom of those who were pledged to destroy democracy.

There is a strong section of opinion within the country that advocates identical action against the Communist right wing, and my talks with the home minister convince me that he is aware of the danger from that quarter. But it is clear that for the present the government has chosen to assess the risk primarily in terms of China. India and the Soviet Union are on very friendly terms at present, and it would be pointless to annoy Moscow without sufficient cause. The rightist group will still participate in the coming general election in Kerala, but the entire Communist Party has been greatly weakened because the left group was the more powerful faction there.

No one knows how long the eight hundred arrested leftists will be detained. The Defense of India Rules, under which they have been imprisoned, do not limit the duration of detention. At the same time, the government has no intention for the time being of placing a legal ban on the left Communist Party, which would give the home minister no great advantage. A legal ban would, however, prevent the leftists from putting up candidates in the general election in Kerala. At present they remain free to participate in the poll with such strength as they still have.

There is an important lesson to be drawn from the arrests. The only Communist government to function in an Indian state, that in Kerala, was overthrown in 1959. Had it remained in power, the recent action against the Communists would have been difficult. It is inconceivable that the home minister in New Delhi would have been able to plan his attack with the help of a state minister whose political representatives were about to be arrested. The moral is clear: as long as the Chinese threat remains, India cannot afford to have any of its states governed by the Communist Party.

As the Braceros Leave

MARY ELLEN LEARY

"How do you get along with the short-handled hoe?" In a steamy, barren government employment office in Southern California's farm belt, a couple of hundred men lolled against the wall or sat in rows with the dull patience that had kept them waiting since 4 A.M. Each man was asked this question by the farmers' agent who had come to hire field hands. "I can get along with it," the men said one after the other, grimly, gamely, or boastfully. "I know that hoe, man. I've worked lettuce. . . . Yes, sir, I can take it."

The reliability of their answers is one key to the American worker's ability to replace the "bracero," the Mexican contract laborer on whom for twenty-three years the vast farms of the West and Southwest have depended to harvest their crops.

The braceros were first imported during the war to meet the shortage of farm labor by agreement between the U.S. and the Mexican governments. This was later formalized by Public Law 78, in which provisions for the braceros' protection were expanded, and the administration and enforcement of the law were placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor. To protect American farm workers, each state was required to certify that its growers were unable to find enough domestic field hands to fill their needs. In practice, the various state employment services were more interested in satisfying the growers, who preferred Mexican workers, than in finding whether a need existed. Protests from labor unions and liberal organizations grew in intensity until, in 1963, Congress terminated Public Law 78 as of December 31, 1964.

The short-handled hoe is only eighteen inches long, short enough to compel close care and requiring the worker to stoop in the back-bending work of tending such low-growing crops as lettuce, strawberries, asparagus, broccoli, and cabbage.

Whether Americans can and will undertake such work, whether they can be mustered in large enough numbers where the harvest demands, whether wages and working conditions can be improved enough to make "stoop" work sufficiently attractive, and whether the growers will make an honest effort to use American field hands—these are the questions under test since Public Law 78 came to an end. Disruptions and dislocations are inevitable for some large growers, such as those with vegetables now ready for harvesting in California's Imperial and Ventura Counties. These huge farms have depended till now upon reliable and uncomplaining Mexican workers, delivered when needed, zealous at their job, and under threat of deportation if they walked off it.

An imminent calamity already is being claimed by many growers. They say that loans to farmers have been sharply restricted; land leases are not being renewed; canneries are cutting estimates of their fall pack; fertilizer salesmen face a poor year;

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teamsters fear job losses. Congress, the administration, and the public will be subjected to tremendous pressure through the next few weeks for restoration of the Mexican bracero to an industry that in its various stages—growing, harvesting, packaging, canning, freezing, transporting, marketing, and selling—represents a $10-billion-a-year business, or "agribusiness," as it calls itself.

Forcing the Back Door

In its search for ways to bring in Mexican labor despite the ending of the agreement with Mexico, agribusiness advocates opening the back door for the bracero through Public Law 414, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, by which foreign workers may be admitted for six-month intervals. This law allows the Department of Labor to make sure that the importation of these workers would not adversely effect employment opportunities and working conditions of domestic workers. It is under the auspices of Public Law 414 that the Beatles perform in this country, Swiss instructors come to teach skiing at mountain resorts, and Basque shepherds tend flocks on lonely Western slopes.

Public Law 414 became the great hope of the growers. Their pressure tactics were directed to urging the Secretary of Labor and the Attorney General to prepare a program under its provisions for readmitting Mexican labor.

In response, the Department of Labor conducted hearings on the application of 414 to seasonal farm labor, and on December 19, just a dozen days before the bracero law ended, it issued standards under which Mexicans may be employed in the future. The department was forced to do this so that the law would be ready for use in case of a proven labor emergency. But before the administration will apply the proviso to the braceros, it insists that a sincere effort first be made to recruit domestic farm workers at wages that are in line with the rest of the economy. What is worrying the Western growers is how strictly the Secretary of Labor will hold to that priority.

Some growers were trying to persuade the government that the braceros could stay on with a mere bookkeeping change. Right in the field, it was claimed, Public Law 78 Mexicans could be transformed into Public Law 414 Mexicans. But Secretary W. Willard Wirtz made it clear on December 19 that this is not his view of what Congress intended. Instead the United States is embarked on something completely new, setting standards of employment for the most neglected worker in the American economy, the seasonal farmhand.

THE MISERY of our own migrant farm worker has been amply documented. He is absolute bottom man on labor's totem pole. He is expected to take a job at hourly wages as low as sixty cents (in Arkansas), seventy cents (in Texas), ninety-five cents (in Arizona), or one dollar (in California), wages affected by Mexican competition since agricultural workers are specifically exempted from the Federal minimum wage. He must leave his family for as long as six months at a time to find work, or move them with him from one shack or barracks to another. The migrant farm worker is considered well treated if he gets a sterilized blanket for his barracks bed, a free water pail in the field, and employment for an average of 130 days a year. He gets no unemployment insurance, job security, overtime pay, pension, or protection under the National Labor Relations Act. His income averages $1,000 to $1,250 a year at a time when government indices have set $3,000 a year as the minimum subsistence figure for a family of two or more.

Western growers have difficulty finding American field hands to accept such conditions, and they don't much like the ones they get. In the Imperial Valley, even while the first busloads were en route from a Department of Labor recruiting point, the lettuce growers canceled their order for 1,800 workers. A wire to the state Department of Employment by the Imperial Valley Farmers Association read: "The caliber of workers being referred to us these past few days will make our harvest problems even greater than the impending labor shortage." Association representatives were in Mexico City searching instead for some legal means to bring back the braceros.

Once they are hired, the basic question is, Will they stay? Unlike the Mexicans, these men don't have to. This factor alone turns the whole grower approach to seasonal farm labor upside down. And there is the key to the revolution Secretary of Labor Wirtz is undertaking. It is not merely up to the men whether they will stay, Wirtz feels. It is up to the growers to make them want to stay, a condition no more exacting than other employers in this nation have to face.

They Stoop to Labor

It is not true, as growers like to insist, that Americans cannot do the work that Mexicans do. In the West, domestic farm workers have long toiled by the side of the Mexican nationals. For the past five years, states have made a deliberate effort to replace braceros with American workers in certain regions and certain crops. In 1960, some 278,000 individual contracts were signed with Mexican workers; by 1963, this number had diminished to 186,865. And during these years about three times as many Americans were working the same farms. Enough Americans have wielded the short-handled hoe to prove that they can do "stoop" work if they want to. What isn't sure is how many can be turned up to meet a sudden demand for manpower.

For the grower, a big advantage of Mexican labor has been the ease with which it could be summoned in great numbers, then sent home without welfare responsibility. The eager braceros made such fast work of the harvest that there was little impetus to mechanize farm work. Without the Mexicans, mechanization of the

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various tasks that are still done by hand will doubtless be stepped up. Meanwhile, the agribusinessmen have persuaded themselves that they can't exist with a free and competitive labor market. But for American field workers, competition with the braceros represented the final demoralizing element in an already thoroughly unattractive set of working conditions.

Congress, the Mexican government, and pressure from labor and welfare groups managed to bring improvement in living conditions for the braceros, to insure their pay, and to expose the petty racketeers who used to prey on them. A Department of Labor staff, proficient in Spanish, became experienced in supervision. Now the Federal agents who protected the welfare of the braceros have been disbanded. The Bureau of Immigration is neither staffed nor trained to do the same job if the Mexicans return under Public Law 414.

The real problem of the bracero is not so much an agricultural issue as a moral one—his use to depress the lot of the native he displaces. It is a case of "our own poor pitted against the poor of a foreign country," as one speaker has put it. This is the situation the AFL-CIO has persistently deplored. This is what led a Council of Churches spokesman at the Labor Department hearings to plead for improvement in working conditions for Americans, rather than new immigration channels for Mexicans. Even the Teamsters and Governor Brown of California, who claim that the bracero must be "phased out," not cut off, argue for an accompanying improvement in the lot of the farm workers. And in Los Angeles, Dioncio Morales, a member of the National Citizens Committee, said, "The issue is really that growers prefer Mexicans not because they work better but because they will do stoop labor for low wages."

It is now apparent that the administration shares this view and intends to implement it through Public Law 414, which enables the Department of Labor to enforce standards for domestic labor with any grower who intends to ask for foreign workers. Secretary of Labor Wirtz in his December 19 regulation for part-time farm workers stipulated a dramatic jump in wages that must be offered the American farm worker before the growers can prove a genuine need to import labor. In practice the department's jurisdiction over foreign labor gives it an efficient lever to raise standards for the domestic worker. In states where $1 hourly had been the base before, Secretary Wirtz insisted on $1.25; where sixty cents or seventy cents had been tolerated, he specified a ninety-cent minimum. And looking three months ahead to April 1, he ordered a second increase to range from $1.15 to $1.40. These standards include the guarantee, previously given the Mexican government on behalf of the braceros but never before offered American field workers, of at least three-quarter-time employment over a contract period.

The bracero system, Secretary Wirtz said, has "too often disregarded human values. . . . A good deal of this work is unquestionably hard and unpleasant. . . . But," and here Secretary Wirtz noted that about four million Americans are now unemployed, "there has been accumulating evidence that U.S. workers will be available to do this work if decent working conditions are provided and if it is paid for on terms in line with other work that is equally hard and unpleasant."

A Chance at the Hoe

At first, instead of taking Secretary Wirtz seriously, most growers and their allies were probing for the earliest point at which he would bend and accept the braceros as a necessity to save threatened crops. Some were making efforts to recruit Americans, having experimented last summer with youth camps and high-school day workers, or labor imported from the Deep South and Puerto Rico. Now the big growers with winter harvests have encountered the determination with which the secretary is using his leverage. They are hiring Americans from government employment offices at the rates set by Secretary Wirtz. They are even compelling foremen to exercise patience with new hands and raising piece rates so that fast lettuce cutters who could make $2 an hour last year are now making $4. The farmers' association which had earlier rejected busloads of lettuce pickers, sight unseen, has now reconsidered and put in a new order for American hands. But the growers still expect they will be permitted some dependence on Mexicans through the next five or ten years until mechanization of stoop-labor crops is feasible.

Probably Secretary Wirtz also expects some Mexicans to return. But where he differs with the growers is on how many and how soon. If he can hold the line, he will have succeeded in establishing higher standards for American field hands and a meaningful attack on one sector of poverty.

Against this purpose, the food industry was never in a better position to exert political pressure. Two years ago in California it allied itself with related financial interests for a highly effective public-relations front, the Council of California Growers. Last year a nationwide organization, the National Council of Agricultural Employers, with an initial membership from thirty-seven states, opened its permanent lobbying office in Washington just in time to test its muscle at the Department of Labor hearings.

One may ask why the clear intention of Congress to end the bracero agreement, an intention spelled out as far back as October, 1963, didn't arouse the growers earlier. Whether the delay was a matter of strategy or wishful thinking, the fact is that the entire industry came down to the December 31 deadline publicly confident that Mexicans would return under some interpretation of the immigration law, and that any interruption of their availability would be momentary. Such an assumption and the lack of preparedness for any alternative may have its own value as a pressure technique if the crops are not harvested on time.

The short-handled hoe is a miserable tool and eventually it will be obsolete. But how soon it disappears—and with it the other substandard conditions of field work in the West—depends on the administration's success in making sure that American workers have a chance at that hoe. And seeing to it that they are suitably rewarded for wielding it.

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Heart-of-the-Daybreak

A STORY by JACK COPE

SHE FELT LIGHT and unbound, light as the dead leaves, the poplar tree dropping its leaves with a shudder and the wind taking them. Some brown onions were in her apron and she held a pumpkin by its dry curled stem and she ran towards the farmhouse. Ran—her old, old feet that were bare and cracked touching the ground lightly. Not for years, not for as long as she could remember, had she felt the heart to run. Now she laughed at the wind that cut through her faded dress. The goats were being shut up in the cave shelters along under the overhang of rocks and she could hear them sneeze and stutter and the goatherd crack his whip.

Outside the kitchen door she stopped to listen and took a long breath, smelling at the air. Then she put down the pumpkin to jerk at the wooden latch and let herself in. The kitchen took up all one end of the small thatched house and the open hearth was like a great black hole in the wall with only a small fire in the middle. The children looked up from the fire when she came in and she stood still with her back to the door. Both children began to speak and the wind boomed in the low chimney. There was another sound, hoarse and whistling.

"He has been calling for you," the elder child said. She put down the onions and pumpkin on the table and went through to the *voorhuis*, her feet quick and silent on the smeared clay floor. She stopped again with her head to one side like a bird. The room had a long table and a bench and two chairs and a shelf at the far end where the Bible was kept and a few large blue plates. A green-painted door led off to the only bedroom and she went through without knocking.

The old man watched her sternly from his bed. His head was propped up and his white beard lay on the blanket. He was already old when he found this place and built the house and carved the date on the lintel as the custom was—1864—and now he lay stricken. The one small window had nothing but a wooden shutter, which was open, and the cold draught rushing through in gusts fluttered the man's white hair and beard. She went around the bed and slammed the shutter, bringing darkness. Then she lit a tallow candle and trimmed the wick, and its small yellow flame shone in the old man's stark black eyes and on the bamboos of the low ceiling.

He puckered his lips and his face was strained with effort as if he wanted to say something. She bent her head close but he only lifted his eyes, blinking slowly. The room was full of death.

"Do you want your Bible?" She spoke to him familiarly and not as a servant might. He made no sign. He had used the Bible when he was strong, flung the words burning at them, at his wife long ago, at his daughter-in-law who was dead too, at Laurens his son and the two little girls. At last he did not want it. He wanted to say something to her but could not bring himself to it: something on his soul. He had left it till too late, or else he was still, even now at the last hour, too stubborn to speak before his soul was torn out of him. He dismissed her with a look of his eyes and she went out back to the kitchen.

THE CHILDREN were trying to keep warm at the fire, huddled together on a single large plank chair. They were the same size, although Rebekka, dark-eyed like her grandfather, was four years older than the fair, rosy-cheeked Annetjie. Rebekka was misshapen and had a sack drawn for warmth across her hunched back.

"Did he say anything to you, Aia Griet?" the elder child asked.

"He said nothing."

"Why are you smiling?"

Griet did not know she was smiling. She had the light feeling that fluttered in her like a madness. Joy, wildness, bliss. She wanted to take the children in her arms, to lead them out and away, far off over the brow of the world, over the endless tracks, free.

"I am not smiling."

"You are, you are!"

"How so, Bekka, when your Oupa lies there dead!"

"He's not dead, I heard him just now. He's the same as ever—I gave him his soup."

"He's the same as ever, Aia Griet," Annetjie said, wide-eyed.

They did not believe, because it was like that with them. They would sit on their mother's grave under the pear tree and talk to her just as though she lived, because they had not seen death. She went to a box behind the door and took out an old knitted garment. It was

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so large and stretched that it went easily around them both and they snuggled together. Then she piled up the fire and the dry renoster-bush twigs crackled and gave out scented smoke. She peeled the onions, sitting on a low stool in the firelight, and she cut up some of the pumpkin and put it on to simmer with fat and some cinnamon and wild honey. The children were warm and happy and stretched out their bare toes. Annetjie climbed off the chair to fetch her rag doll that Aia Griet had made. It had no face, but she loved it.

Griet went out to fetch more firewood. The night would be long. The sun was somewhere low over the mountains and a bar of red light glared between the clouds, fading quickly, and the wind began to bring down thin whirls of snow and sleet that made little slushy drifts and soon melted. The wind was full of scents—the acrid saltbush and bitterberry with its mauve blossom; goats, quiet now in the rock shelter where the walls and overhangs were painted with animals and people by the old, old ones; the smell of baboons—they would be coming close to the farm for what they could get.

GRIET lifted a double armful of brushwood and staggered with it to the kitchen door. There she met the young master, Baas Laurens, who lived with the children in a green-brick lean-to against the other end of the house.

"He is dead," she said.

"Dead?"

"Tonight he will go."

"Tonight?"

"I see it—he cannot talk."

"You witch, you're glad!"

"I am not glad, Baas Laurens. How can I. . . ."

"What have you done?"

"Nothing. What can I do? Ten times I have nursed him and saved him. But now . . . ?" She shrugged.

"You thing! I know you!"

He stood with his back to the door, barring it against her. He smelt of horse sweat and goats and his own sour smell. Big and long-jawed with a stubble on his chin. She was afraid.

"Baas Laurens, I am making the evening meal."

He turned at last and flung open the door. As she squeezed through with the wood she could see he too was afraid. He drew away and did not want her even to brush by him. He went off to his lean-to room, and as she busied herself in the kitchen she heard his footsteps, heavy across the wind and rain-swept yard, and later the beat of his horse's hoofs.

"Where is Father going?" Rebekka asked.

"He did not say. But he may be riding to the dorp."

"Why, Aia Griet?"

"Because his father, Baas Lukas, is dying at last."

She could not hide from them, or from herself either, the wonder of those words, and they looked anxiously at her as she stirred the onion soup and raked the live coals under the pot. There was no light in the kitchen save from the fire.

"Grandfather is not dying—he always gets well again and wants his brandy," Rebekka said. "I know, Aia Griet. You can't tell me children's stories. He says it will take a six-foot yellow snake and all its young to kill him. Oh no! You'll die before him. You are much older."

"I am not older, little one."

"You are as old as the world," Annetjie said.

"Nearly, but not quite, my love-lamb," she laughed, showing her small firm yellow teeth. "There were things before me. Ai!, but you are my beautiful little doves."

"You're older than Grandfather," Rebekka said again.

She shook her head. "No, child."

"How can you say that? You can't count, you don't know when you were born. You're a *thing*—a Bushman."

"True, *nonnatjie,* but I know all the same, I was a small thing, smaller than her, when Baas Lukas was a man. He was great and his head went up to the sky and he rode a black horse. He had a red fire in his beard. . . ." They gazed at her while she acted their grandfather as a young man astride his horse and his red beard ablaze in the sun.

SHE dragged up the table before the fire and set out their plates and slopped into them helpings of beans and onion soup. Then she sat in a corner of the big hearth with her back to the curve of the arch and her feet under her skirt. She watched them eat side by side and bend over the steaming plates. Annetjie's hair, yellow like the wild marigolds after rain, escaped from its braids and tapes into shining tangles; Bekka's dark hair was pulled back straight. She had a very short neck and her movements were quick and sharp. The children sucked and slurped at their spoons. With her small swift hands Aia Griet broke up sticks to throw them on the fire. . . .

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She was on the plains, and the mountains hung blue under the sky. They had killed an ox, a trekboer's ox, and there was meat, endless meat, juicy red hills of food heaped on the stones and hung in the blackthorn trees and more blood than she had ever seen, the great red-blue ox-heart on a stick ready for the fire and strips of sweet-smelling tripes. The hunting men had found the ox on the old game pan and singled it out and driven it off three days running till it dropped dead in a dry river bed. There they slit its neck and flayed it with spear points and sharp stones. The women came down from the caves with children and half-wild dogs at evening, when the fires sent out smoke of sizzling fat. They ate and danced and sang. She chewed meat till the juice ran down over her chin and dripped on her smooth pale-yellow belly and ran down between her legs. She had strong teeth. Her mother laughed and tore her off a new strip of meat and told her to eat well and grow strong. She never before had been given a new piece before the first piece was finished. Grow big, grow big like the yellow moon. Grow still and sweet as the Heart-of-the-Day-break.

Her mother ate until her belly stretched and shone, swollen as with a new child. Her father ate too, quietly, tearing the black meat with his knife and his teeth. The best pieces were kept for him and he stayed a little apart and above them on a rock and talked with his mouth full and watched the moon rise and all the stars range over the sky. Hyenas booming and groaning and the yelp of jackals beyond. They all ate, they ate well, they all were filled to the gorge and some vomited

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and came to fill again. They lay down under the warm star blanket; she lay in the curl of her mother, a half-chewed, half-charred meat strip in her hand. The hyenas called, the wild dogs bayed downwind, and they did not hear. And the chafing things, the singing of the night, the sputter of thorn and reiioster wood in the fires, and they did not listen. . . .

• • • • •

She jumped down from the hearth. There had been a crash in the other room and she glided through, feeling her way. The candle was out and the room black-dark. The children followed and came behind her whimpering. She felt about and found the candle and matches on the floor and she struck a light. The old man lay still; in a dream or some agony of heart he had flung out wide and knocked over the candle.

"Do you want coffee?" she said.

Faintly he shook his head. He put out his tongue to moisten his lips as if to speak, but his lips only trembled and no word came. His eyes found the children clinging on each side to Griet, and then he looked back at his feet and was quite still. He did not care any longer. She tucked his arm under the blankets and felt his pale, papery forehead. The children followed her out, clinging close, and sat at the table but could not eat.

"It's nothing, my little ones," she said. "Here's sweet pumpkin with honey when you are finished."

"Can we have it now, Aia Griet?" Annetjie asked.

She could not resist her favorite and gave her a helping of the sticky sweet. "There, eat it all and you will grow nice and round like the moon. When I was little I loved to eat honey and—and—"

"Who wants to be like you!" Rebekka said.

GRIET gave the older child her portion and went back to her place in the arch of the hearth. She cracked twigs nimbly and threw them on the fire, and soon the flames danced up and the kitchen seemed to come alive and the moving shadows were like paintings on the wall.

"I was beautiful," Aia Griet said.

"How could *you* be beautiful!"

"I was young then," she replied.

"When was that?" Annetjie said.

"That was then," she said and she stood up. She put her hands on her hips and swayed her slim body, smiling. "My name is not Griet, that is not me. That is something they threw on me when they tied my hands and put a rag around me, a dress. I am Heart-of-the-Daybreak. The star first before all others and the last to stay there. I am going towards the morning—ah, my children. . . . "

"What nonsense are you babbling about, Aia Griet?"

"Heart-of-the-Daybreak. No, that is not me, that is my mother's father that walks before the Morning Star. I am his little stick-shadow. I am on my knees in the sand when they go to hunt."

They watched her spin slowly round in the shadows, shuffling her feet and with arms raised.

Rebekka laughed. "Now she must be drunk."

"I am not drunk, my *nonnatjie*. When did I drink?"

"How can you talk rubbish like that? Go and see in the looking glass. Beautiful! You're an ugly old thing. You haven't got eyes but two black slugs. Your nose is a button, peppercorns on your head—do you call that hair? And you're all wrinkles and yellow like a snake."

Annetjie began crying.

"What's the matter with you?" Her sister shook her.

"I love Aia Griet."

"Oh, you—because you love anything, that silly old rag doll with no face, and *hans-bok* that stinks. I love Father and—and Grandfather," she added doubtfully. "You can't love just an old Bushman."

Griet stopped dancing and came to the table. She stroked Annetjie's head and soothed her. "Don't howl, my own, old Griet loves you, and she loves her little Bekka too and the *hans-bok*. . . . "

"And Pietie?" she held out her doll.

"Pietie too."

"Aia Griet, you *are* beautiful."

"I was then." She looked at Rebekka and the child wrinkled up her sharp little nose. Griet walked back to the place in the hearth. She seemed different and Rebekka could not have said why. Her eyes were no longer slits of darkness sunk in wrinkled seams but were open wide. She was not humble or crouched and small but easy, possessing the firelit cave of the kitchen. Annetjie was busy putting Pietie to sleep in a battered yellow cardboard box. Rebekka's heart beat hard in its small cage. She had heard her father often call Aia Griet a witch and now she first felt afraid that there was a meaning in it. A witch—*heks*—with evil secrets. How had she changed? It was in some way over her grandfather. Was she drawing the life out of him—to herself? She slipped off the chair and pretended to look for her slate, but she had soon glided through the dark scary *voorhuis* into her grandfather's still more frightening room.

BRAVELY, slowly, she came nearer to the bed. The candle flickered with each blow of the wind on the shutter and some dust filtered down between the ceiling bamboos. The old man lay in the yellow light with his eyes closed. He was dead! Then, when she was quite near and her heart almost fluttering out at her throat, he suddenly opened his eyes and looked at her. She turned and fled back to the kitchen where the firelight danced and Annetjie on her knees was crooning a lullaby to the doll. She got on the chair and leaned back. The kitchen was quite warm by this time and the storm was shut out; it rattled at the shutters and made long sighs and moans in the chimney but could not break in.

Aia Griet found the pencil and slate and lit a stub of candle for the clever little twisted child, and she watched her write something and then begin to draw a face. She went on drawing, wet her finger to rub out, and started again. Griet put on a kettle and built up the fire. She sat gazing at the flames. That night she would make up a bed for the children on the kitchen floor—they could not sleep alone in the lean-to. She

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looked from one to the other, remembering her own that she had loved, each and every one; and they were blown away like birds in the wind and she would not know them. Now she loved these two as if they were hers. The older one who fought like a wild thing shot with a poison arrow. What was this pain of the heart that went on forever—would she be free from it before she died, the pain of loving?

• • • • •

The people were sleeping and the stars watched. The stars made faint sounds but they did not call out, and the night big with sleep. Before the first light, before the moon set, the horses were among them, going through like thunder, and the tall men in the sky threw out fire. Her heart died in her from terror. Her father jumped on the rock and stood against the sky with his bow unstrung and he fell over silent and rolled into the darkness. Her mother found him there at daybreak with a hole in his face and a blood pool under his head. The horses came back and the riders climbed down, running among the shelters, and those who were wounded did not escape. They put a knife to her mother's throat. She was dragged from the body and her hands tied at the end of a long rope and she ran behind the horses. The one with a fiery beard and black eyes took her up on the bow of his saddle and she was carried into a new land and a new death; very small and very naked, pale yellow-brown in the arms of the rider. She never returned. She never saw the faces of her people or heard her language until her memory of them was like a tree that did not grow and a waterhole of burning sand. She had borne three children to the man. Other men had used her—she loved their children but not them. Jonkman the Baster, he was her eldest child. She had gone always with the man who caught her because he was the nearest to her and there was no other. And now he was dying. . . .

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"Aia Griet." The child looked up from her slate. "Why does Father call you a witch? That's a bad thing."

"Baas Laurens was a little baby when I nursed him on my knees. I sang over him like Annetjie sings for Pietie. He learnt from me," she said.

"He learnt from *you*! What do *you* know? You can't read or write or count more than ten—listen to it!"

"I taught Baas Laurens things in his heart he will never forget, and he knows. I taught him other things he does not know."

"Silly—how can you teach him and he doesn't know?"

"Ask Baas Laurens, little dove."

Rebekka laughed, making her pencil squeak on the slate. "He never talks to me about Bushmen. You sit there and think, but I'm not frightened of you."

"But how can you be frightened of your old Aia Griet that loves you?"

"Do you love me?"

She nodded, quiet in the corner of the hearth with the yellow firelight playing on her. Annetjie crept like a cat onto her lap and twined her arms around her neck and the tangled hair shone gold on her breast.

"You don't just love Annetjie?"

"You too my springbok lamb."

"Maybe I love you too—a little. But not like Annetjie," she added, and creased her brow seriously. "Aia Griet, I don't mind if Grandfather dies. Then my father will have everything, the house and the wagon and donkeys and horses and the goats and all the *karoo* as far as a man can ride. And when Father dies they'll all be mine. I'll have gold money too and keep it in an iron box. And I'll do what I like. I'll look after Annetjie and you. And I won't ever get married. Or I might marry an Englishman. I saw an Englishman once—in Clanwilliam. I'll bury Father under the pear tree and put a flat stone on him."

She had tears in her dark bright eyes and they rolled down her face and dropped on the slate. Carefully she got down from the chair. "Now I'm going to say good-bye to Grandfather. Come with me, Aia Griet."

Annetjie was asleep, heavy and warm in her arms, but Griet struggled to her feet and lifted the sleeping child. Rebekka led with the candle and Griet followed through the *voorhuis* and into the death room. The old man lay with his eyes closed. They could hear his breath in his throat, and a small curl of froth had gathered on his beard.

"He's asleep." Rebekka put down her candle near the other, and she reached over and kissed the dry, white forehead. "Good-bye, Oupa. God forgive you—God forgive Father and me, and Annetjie."

She glanced up at Aia Griet. "Is that enough?"

"Enough, child."

But she turned back to the bed and the stern white-bearded face. "And God forgive Aia Griet too, if she has a soul."

She took up the candle and led the way back to the kitchen, leaving her grandfather alone, with the single light, to die. Annetjie had not woken up and Griet laid her on a sack near the fire and covered her.

She went to fetch the bedclothes from the lean-to. The sharp air outside cut at her; a high moon flew in and out between the clouds. The house there like a dark hump, the almost bare poplar, the towering gouged-out rock shapes above the shelters—all seemed to be waiting, dumb and terrible, for something. She felt dizzy and she went on and groped into Baas Laurens's strong-smelling room and rolled up the children's blankets and carried them out.

She made a bed on the floor in the warmth of the fire and kissed the beautiful Annetjie and covered her up while Rebekka knelt with tightly pressed hands and prayed. She prayed for her back to be straightened by God so she could marry the Englishman, and for her mother and Annetjie and for Aia Griet to be given a place in heaven, and for the men. She had always prayed for them but she found a new difficulty because it seemed that to her mind her grandfather and father were already dead. So she asked God again to forgive them, though she did not know what for. With a shudder she wriggled in at her sister's side, into the thick sweet warmth, and took Annetjie in

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her arms. After what seemed a long while she opened her eyes sleepily—"Aia Griet, you can kiss me goodnight."

The goatherd was woken by something in the night and went out of his walled-in *skerm* under the hang of the old Bushman cave to see what was disturbing the goats. Nothing. He stood and looked across in the moonlight at the low outline of the house. The sky was clearing and the wind off the snow-capped mountains bitter. A thin wisp of smoke trailed from the kitchen chimney.

AIA GRIET was curled in the angle of the hearth, covered with sacks and a worn fur *kaross*. She could not sleep. She heard the children breathing in a deep peace. The wind spoke to her in the chimneytop, and from time to time she put more wood on the fire. Maybe she dozed and woke to see a dancing yellow light in the *voorhuis*. What was it? She went through and came running back. The fire was in the old man's room, around the table and cloth where the candle had been, and the bed was alight and the flames reaching up to the bamboo ceiling. She shook Rebekka awake and bundled Annetjie as she was in the blankets and carried her out into the bleak farmyard. The time was nearing dawn, the moon had set and the stars shone clear with dark blots where a cloud here and there drifted away. They looked terror-stricken at the red slits around the bedroom shutter and it was as if a great fierce animal moved around inside. Then the thin woodwork collapsed and there was a soft growl and a rush of flame. Rebekka shrieked and covered her face, screaming over and over for her mother. The goatherd and other farmhands came running across the yard.

Aia Griet took the sobbing child and Annetjie to the goatherd's warm *skerm*. Annetjie had woken but fallen asleep again among the blankets, gripping the rag doll in her firm arms. Rebekka crouched in the entrance and would not take her eyes off the great blaze of the house. The heat reached them. Now the thatch was well alight and vast bursts of sparks flew up gold and red to meet the white stars. She clung to Griet and her whole small body trembled and shook. At last she let herself be put to bed and for a while she lay against Annetjie, shivering in little twitches, and her teeth chattered.

Griet ran down past the house and the poplar tree and through the deep cleft in the rocks where a spring of water ran. Beyond was a small plowed clearing and the pear tree where the graves lay, and then the *karoo* stretched away to a great stone ridge and more ranges far, far into the endless half-desert. She ran on, left the pear tree behind and the plowland and stumbled among the renoster and saltbush at the other side. She tore off the old dress and stood naked, a small copper-colored form lost among the stones and scrub. Dawn was coming, and the sky paling with mauve like the bitterberry flowers, and milk, and blood. The last stars remained, the Morning Star and the Heart-of-the-Daybreak and the guide to hunters—she remembered its name in her own language, *Xkoagu*. She raised her arms to them, faint and seeing everything through a mist; she was stunned with happiness. She was unloosened and unbound, and herself.

'You May Be Deaf, Ludwig, But I'm Not!'

FREDERIC V. GRUNFELD

ONE OF the more peculiar differences between the sexes—there are several—is that men like their music loud and women do not. "Does it have to be so loud?" is what a woman will say, snappishly or reproachfully depending on her character and disposition, just as the volume of a hi-fi set has been turned up to a halfway audible level. A strange phenomenon, this: the way a woman reacts to loud or even half-loud music. It may be partly physiological—her delicate eardrums are probably more sensitive than a man's. But the problem is mainly psychological. She likes music so long as it serves her purposes and enhances her own charms (a seat in the Diamond Horseshoe, for instance, or soft background strings for candlelight dining). She dislikes music as soon as it threatens to become competitive, i.e., "too loud." As Freud points out in *Civilization and Its Discontents,* woman suspects and resents the things that attract too much of man's attention and energy. "What he employs for cultural purposes he withdraws from women and his sexual life," Freud explains. *"Woman finds herself thus forced into the background by the claims of culture and she adopts an inimical attitude towards it."* (The italics are mine.)

If she finds herself forced too far into the background, she may become an outright obstructionist. Frau Anna Haydn, wife of the Father of Symphony, is said to have used her husband's manuscripts as curlpapers and to line her cake pans and pie dishes. Posterity has condemned her for this—unjustly, it turns out, for she was merely obeying the natural instincts of her sex when faced with the competing claims of music.

What complicates the situation is that so many great musicians have sincerely believed, at one time or another, that woman was destined to be the muse, the helpmeet, the handmaiden of their art. Lacking Freud's insight into the convolutions of the feminine psyche, they have rushed headlong into the arms of the very instruments of their undoing.

"YOU ARE my sole life, my sole hope and my unique glory," wrote the unsuspecting Franz Liszt to the Countess d'Agoult at the start of one of the most famous love affairs in musical history. "Make something or somebody out of me!"

Little did he dream—nor would the lady have admitted it even to herself—that in her secret heart she wanted to *silence* Liszt as a pianist rather than "make something" of him. But the true state of affairs can be read between the lines of her private diary. Marie d'Agoult regarded

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herself, as many women persist in doing, as a passionate music-lover. It was for art's sake, she said, that she gave up her husband, family, and fortune to follow the young Liszt to the ends of Switzerland. When they eloped in the spring of 1835, she felt "called by God to be sacrificed to the salvation of this divine genius." What woman ever laid more substantial proofs of devotion upon the altar of great music? And yet—

"And yet," as she confided to her diary, "it was not Franz's musical genius that most attracted me. I was musical enough to understand him, but not enough of a musician to help him realize his plans. . . . Sometimes I even felt a secret, subconscious warning (I hardly dare say it) that there was *something hostile in his music, something inimical to me, that threatened our love.*" (Again, my italics.)

Sensitive creature that she was, she had unwittingly touched the root nerve of their difficulty. It was music that had brought them together, and music that was now coming inexorably between them. He played too loud for her. As Liszt sat at the keyboard dashing off masterworks and finger exercises, each crashing chord reverberated ominously in the depths of her woman's soul. She felt herself pushed further and further into the background by the stentorian voice of culture. Something finally snapped one night when she heard him at a public concert in Lausanne.

"His playing disturbed me," she wrote. "His prodigious, brilliant, incomparable virtuosity was indeed there, but I felt it nevertheless as something alien to me. Where were we? Was I dreaming? . . . I felt an inexpressible anguish. From that day a change was wrought in my existence." It was, in fact, the beginning of the end of the affair.

FEW WOMEN ever come as far as Marie d'Agoult toward admitting that music is "something alien" to their nature. The record shows that most of them are quite unaware of their aversions and hostilities—even after they have committed an overt act of aggression against music. Gustav Mahler's wife Alma tells us blithely in her memoirs how she managed to sabotage one of her husband's symphonies; apparently she never felt the slightest pang that there might have been something reprehensible in her conduct:

"Mahler had overscored the percussion instruments and kettledrums [of his Fifth Symphony] so madly and persistently that little beyond the rhythm was recognizable. I hurried home sobbing aloud. He followed. For a long time I refused to speak. At last I said between sobs: 'You've written it for percussion and nothing else!' He laughed and then produced the score. He crossed out all the kettledrums in red chalk and half the percussion instruments too. . . . " She had, in other words,

succeeded in "disarming" a psychically loaded symphony before it could go off; she had damped the *fortissimos* that threatened her inner well-being. Only the hardiest, most thick-skinned composer is proof against the blandishments of such a woman, bent on saving his work from his worser self. Even Beethoven, the great intransigent, once submitted to a missionizing countess who wanted him to cut "some long-drawn sections of secondary importance" from the original version of *Fidelio.* "Beethoven!" she cried, according to an eyewitness, throwing herself down and seizing his knees. "Beethoven, it must be! Give in! Do so in memory of your mother! Do so for me, who am only your best friend!"

There is no known defense against this particular gambit. But there is a still more terrible fate that can befall the unwary composer—he can marry a soprano. By definition, a soprano is a woman who has repressed her innate aversion to music in order to develop her voice as an attention-getting device. Sopranos do not, as a rule, like anyone else to make music except by way of accompaniment to them; they never go to hear other sopranos, for example, though they may visit each other's dressing rooms after the show. Hector Berlioz once fell in love with a soprano, Marie Recio, only to discover that he had made a dreadful mistake. "She yowls like a cat," he told Ferdinand Hiller in strict confidence. "That would not be altogether a misfortune if she had not the unhappy ambition to sing at all my concerts."

To keep the peace, he was obliged to make a place for her on his concert programs. "And to sing what?" wrote his friend Ernest Legouvé, the French playwright. "To sing his music, his melodies! And he had to give way; he who was driven mad by one false note, who was made really ill by one false rhythm; he had to consent to hear his own works misrepresented, to conduct the very pieces in which he was being assassinated as a composer." And in the end she became the second Madame Berlioz.

Our electronic way of life has changed a great many things about the way men listen to music, but women have met the challenge of technology by developing new tactics for neutralizing its effects. A hi-fi set is one of the prime symbols of man's condition in the modern world; it represents a means of erecting a bastion of privacy, a sound barrier if you will, around his age-old quest for culture. From a woman's standpoint, however, hi-fi can never be anything but the last refuge of a scoundrel. To remain mistress of her own living room, she has perfected the art of talking over music in an *ostinato* treble—a technique closely related to Schönberg's *Sprechstimme* method. It may not offset a full fifty-watt *forte,* but it suffices to blur the rhythmic and melodic contours of a piece, so that little remains for the listening male but a jumble of bass notes and the general impression that the music is, in fact, continuing. So long as the sound is thus pushed

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into the background, her unconscious needs are satisfied. According to some audioanalysts, the reasons for this complex syndrome should be sought in the earliest prehistory of mankind. Music triggers a deep-seated mechanism of insecurity in the human female because it apparently strikes some sinister resonance in her atavistic memory—something going back to the days when the conch shell and the stone glockenspiel were used to sound the alarm among the troglodytes and lake dwellers. A thing like that can take a long time to live down. «»

The Trouble with Alice

GORDON ROGOFF

In CIRCLES of high literary fashion, there is a kind of intellectual shell game in which each mental pod holds the kernel of yet another pea, never before imagined, and not yet to be understood. The ground rules for the game are plain enough: take one simple assertion, wrap it in verbal gauze, throw in at least one startling reversal, and then, as suddenly as you asserted and even more suddenly than you confounded, withdraw silently. Such is the stuff of *Tiny Alice,* the latest riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma offered the stage by Edward Albee, a grand master of the game.

There are, of course, real mysteries in the world, real enigmas, real unanswered questions, and—not to be forgotten in the mists of time—real unquestionable answers. But these are not for the player of the shell game. Hard to the touch, demanding to the mind, they do not yield so readily to the game's comforting proviso that in life, nothing is but what is not. The player announces his intentions not so much by his presence as by his imminent absence. He comes only to go. He gives only to take away. Life, it would seem, is no more than a succession of arid betrayals, the player only a battered survivor so hurt and pained by institutions, men, and ideas that he can only hurt in return.

Tiny Alice begins imaginatively with a touch of genuine intrigue. A cardinal and a lawyer are negotiating a deal between the Church and an enigmatic wealthy lady named Miss Alice. Within moments, it is clear that both Church and state, as it were, detest one another, the cardinal and the lawyer remembering with caustic bitterness their nasty days as school buddies. The trappings of their work fool neither one, each reminding the other that hypocrisy was always their way of life. The scene is sharp, direct, spare, and seemingly to the point; and it is marked by that corrosive, scoring wit that Albee manages better than anything else.

In the theatre, such dialogue possesses a liveliness that sometimes seems to sweep all before it—characters, plot, and any questions we might have. These are people living at the crest of a hate, words acting as a kind of quickening of the bloodless. That we do not have to like them may well have something to do with the success of their exchanges. Albee's cardinal and lawyer, like George and Martha in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf,* are brilliant talking attitudes. If no more is asked of them, if they need support nothing heavier than an outrage, then the balances are just.

Suddenly, the attitudes shift swiftly into the contemplation and presumed development of a mystery. A real man appears. He is Brother Julian, a lay priest, appointed by the cardinal at Miss Alice's request, to collect the first staggering millions of her proposed twenty-year bequest to the Church. A gentle figure and a good man, he is there—or so we are led to suspect—less to collect the money than to be tested. A second exposition begins to weave its diaphanous way through the texture of the play. What, after all, is Julian doing in Miss Alice's castle? Who is the butler? Why is his name Butler? Where is Miss Alice? Who, in fact, is the lawyer? What happened to the cardinal? Can we presume that he knows the nature of the coming events, the substance of the test to be put to Julian? Why is there a replica of the castle in the castle's library? Have we been given proper clues, or is the author cheating just a little? As the questions proliferate, the answers recede further into the background.

But we are not yet done with exposition. The third scene is the third beginning. Julian is brought to meet Miss Alice in her tower apartment. But is it Miss Alice he is meeting? Julian recalls that she is said to be reasonably young, but the lady emerging from behind a covered chair is old, haggard, and waspish. It is only another game, however, a brief interlude in which Albee's vituperative wit can have a moment to play again. Off come mask, wig, and wit. Miss Alice is indeed young, alluring, and vitally interested in Julian's past. And because of her interest, we come at last to Julian. Whether we have come to Miss Alice is yet another question.

With Julian at issue, the Gothic world of the play shifts into still another world: the modern, restricted world of hallucinatory psychology. An analytical button is pressed, with Miss Alice figuratively behind the couch, and out pours

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The authors were engaged in a program of experiments with LSD and other psychedelic drugs at Harvard University, until sensational national publicity, unfairly concentrating on student interest in the drugs, led to suspension of experiments. Since then, the authors have continued their work without academic auspices.

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Julian's sexual and existential anguish. He tells of "the encounter which did—or did not—happen." Uncertain of the line, if there is one, between dream and reality, he is troubled by the memory of his past, bewildered by the seeming reality of his present, and understandably unnerved by Miss Alice's intimations of his future. Here, too, there is a noticeable change in the ordering of the words. Julian speaks in a kind of elliptical shorthand, compressing experience and thought into tiny verbal pockets. One cannot imagine how these several plays and styles will ever find a resolution. It isn't the mystery that is baffling, it's the dramaturgy that is the mystery.

At least three motive forces are at work: Julian's need to recover his lost faith, Miss Alice's wish to "play" at the temptation of Julian, and the lawyer's wish to conclude whatever the transaction is meant to be. Common to all three is their passive nature. Julian did not actively lose his faith, his faith *left* him—disappeared, evaporated, slipped away. Similarly, Alice does not seem to need either Julian or his fall. As with her masquerade as the old lady, she needs only a whim or a game. She has a beguiling manner, but she has no pressing concern in anything we see her do. The lawyer, too, is only an agent, a representative cipher.

Julian falls to the temptress, marries her between the acts, and one kind of ending is begun. Within and behind the scenes is, in fact, a second dimension: the replica castle and the implied life inside it. The strings, as it were, are being pulled by the motive force in the replica, the lady of the title. "Can you not," asks the lawyer of Julian, "accept the wonders of this world as you accept the wonders of the other?" But this Julian can only resist in his real bewilderment, then struggle against as he is abandoned by all the emissaries of Church, state, and the miniature Alice, and finally—in death, mentally nailed to an imagined Cross symbolized by the replica —accept.

DESPITE all the games and playmaking, the ceremony and the rituals of despair, it is through another device—a pulsing heartbeat, a light moving through a toy castle —that the play receives its dramatic pressure. But the symbol begs for definition, not because its significance is beyond either our capacity for wonder or surmise but because behind it lies a dramatic line itself undefined. Past all the plays, all the mannerisms, all the sketched tales, all the beginnings and middles, all the compressions, suspensions, and unfinished fragments, stands only a *coup de théâtre,* a theatrical moment preceded by almost total dramatic evasion.

Tiny Alice, then, is not obscure. It is simply not quite there. The metaphysical terrain is familiar enough: the nature of illusion; the limits of reality; the oppositions of being and essence. Equally, the directly human concerns are not unclear: the need for something or someone to replace lost faith; the terrible fact that what we would touch may not be there; the love that has nowhere to go and no one to receive it. To allude to such elements, however, is not to develop them; to hint is not to explore. If drama is both an enactment and an action, neither enactment nor action can go it alone.

While shape and direction are absent from the play, they are never far from Sir John Gielgud's way of acting. His Julian is a spirit vibrating in repose, a shadow, as Yeats said of a Maeterlinck figure, "sighing at the edge of the world." It is fortunate for the production that Gielgud can provide so much belief. Faced with multiple abstractions, the others make heroically certain gestures without quite persuading us that the certainty is either relevant or urgent. In Alan Schneider's direction and William Ritman's designs, there is an assumed largeness not always supported by the play.

There are signs in the text that Albee is aware of the work he has left undone. Commenting from without, he dares to have his characters make observations that are usually best left unsaid: "This is an endless metaphor," or "Abstractions are upsetting," or "Articulate men often keep set paragraphs." It is as if he felt compelled to tell precisely where his writing fails in *his* eyes so as to make us forget how it fails in ours. The self-conscious act in theatre is rarely a useful substitute for conscious design.

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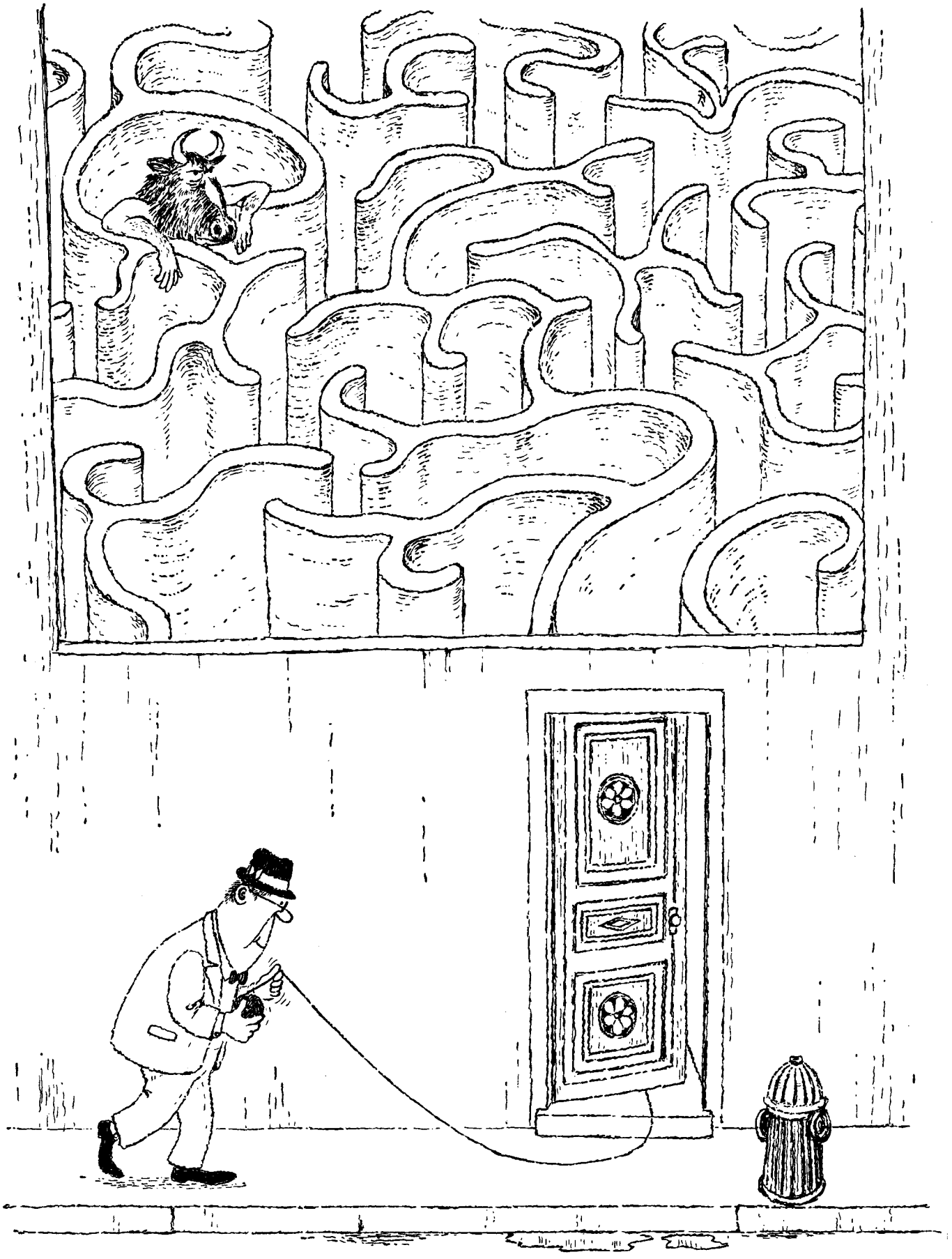

Labyrinth by Fernando Krahn

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BOOKS

Robert Lowell's Memento Mori

GERALD WEALES

FOR THE UNION DEAD, by Robert Lowell. *Farrar, Straus & Giroux. $3.95*

In "Hawthorne," one of the poems in *For the Union Dead,* Robert Lowell describes the novelist "with his head/bent down, brooding, brooding,/ eyes fixed on some chip,/ some stone, some common plant,/ the commonest thing,/ as if it were the clue." The description might be of any artist who chooses to work from the concrete to the abstract. It certainly fits Lowell himself. Obsessed by a grand abstraction (the place of man in the universe, to be pretentious), the poet has always worked with *things.* His poems have always been built of images, visual usually, aural occasionally—selective catalogues in which the juxtaposition of items yields a meaning, a mood, a feeling.

In one of his rare loquacious moments, Peter Alden in George Santayana's *The Last Puritan* defines poetry as "a cry which the violence of circumstances wrings from some poor fellow." The definition may be too romantic for those who think of poetry as an intellectual discipline (Lowell certainly), but it rightly recognizes that circumstances (of birth, of occupation, of residence, of physical contact, of reading even) provide the poet with the "things" over which he can brood. Lowell gets his from a number of places. First of all, from his own life. He has poems that deal with his broken marriage and his unbroken one, with his hospitalization, with the jail term he served as a conscientious objector, but for the most part it is his childhood that informs his work.

Preoccupation with childhood implies preoccupation with family. There is not a volume of Lowell's that does not contain poems about his father, his mother, his grandparents, "his sisters and his cousins and his aunts." Since he is first of all a Lowell, and on his mother's side a Winslow and a Stark, the poet's concern with family forces him to contend with New England, as a physical and historical fact. In his concern with the present, his attempts to use the past lead him to images in which the statues of heroes, rather than the heroes themselves, become central: Hooker's statue and that of the Minuteman turn up in poems in *Lord Weary's Castle,* the Saint Gaudens Civil War relief on Boston Common in *Life Studies* and *For the Union Dead.* In the prose section of *Life Studies,* Lowell imagines that Mordecai Myers, a great-great-grandfather whose portrait is the occasion for the memoir, would have said: "My children, my blood, accept graciously the loot of your inheritance. We are all dealers in used furniture." Uneasy rather than gracious acceptance for Lowell, but the parlor of his poetry is stuffed with the sideboards and cellarets of family and history.

TO COMPLETE the inventory of Lowell's "used furniture" we must turn to literature. His poems are sprinkled with references to and quotations from the classic American authors—Hawthorne, Melville, Thoreau, Jonathan Edwards. Although such references appear in the earliest poems, Lowell seems recently to be more deeply involved in the American writers. Not only does the new volume contain poems about Hawthorne and Edwards, but Lowell's two short plays that had a brief off-Broadway run last fall are based on stories by Hawthorne and Melville. If these writers, being American, are part of Lowell's family by extension, the European writers are his guild brothers. They, too, are among the "things" of his poems. *Imitations* (1961), the volume that immediately preceded *For the Union Dead,* contains translations which, as Lowell admits in his title and his introduction, are meant to be new poems that suggest rather than re-create the originals; this is not a new practice with Lowell, for "imitations" of Rimbaud, Valéry, and Rilke, among others, appear as early as *Lord Weary's Castle.*

The things of self, of family and history, of literature, are to do more than provide a poet's images. According to the quotation that opens this review, they are to serve as clues —presumably to help the poet solve the mystery of existence. Not unexpectedly, Lowell still has an unsolved mystery on his hands, but his poems do suggest that once he has his "things" in order, holds his images up to examine them, and puts them back in the correct position, it all adds up to a picture of the world in which he lives. His poems are about "the downward glide/and bias of existing," as he says in "Night Sweat." In "Sic Transit," his imitation of Johann Peter Hebel's *Die Vergänglichkeit,* the Father explains, "Things start out young and new, and then they slide/ gently downhill." His work, from the first to the latest volume, treats death and dying, failure, the end of love, the loss of childhood, the impossibility of return—an endless falling away.

The life of each individual ("always inside me is the child who died") is one of decline, and the personal is reflected in the national. Lowell is continually conscious of a past more glorious than the present. In "Salem" in *Lord Weary's Castle* he asks, "Where was it that New England bred the men/Who quartered the Leviathan's fat flanks/And fought the British Lion to his knees?" In the long title poem from *The Mills of the Kavanaughs* (1951), the failure of Anne's love and the death of Harry are bound up thematically

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with the idle mills, the decline of the family and the area. In the title poem of *For the Union Dead,* "the cowed, compliant fish" of the now-closed aquarium are equated with the "savage servility" of the Boston around the poet, while the excavations for a garage beneath the Common shake the Statehouse and the Civil War memorial. Explicitly in *Lord Weary's Castle* and implicitly in other volumes, the personal and the historical falling away is equated with man's first Fall.

"I AM TIRED," Lowell says in the last line of "Eye and Tooth." "Everyone's tired of my turmoil." When one considers the way the same despairing themes are repeated in poem after poem, volume after volume, his admission ought to be true. Somehow, it is not, although through intelligence, irony, and wit, he manages to transcend anguish in the act of displaying it.

For the Union Dead is both like and unlike the other volumes. It does not have the impact of the earlier ones, partly because it is not so obviously a unit as the others are. Any collection of poems, unless it is conceived and written as a single work, will have disparate elements in it, but *Lord Weary's Castle* is held together because each poem contributes to the idea of the title ("He built Lord Wearie's castle/But payment gat he nane"); *The Mills of the Kavanaughs* by the thematic repetition of death and incest; *Life Studies* by its insistent autobiographical content. Even *Imitations,* which includes poets as different as Homer, Rimbaud, and Pasternak, can be read, as Lowell says it should, "as a sequence, one voice running through many personalities, contrasts and repetitions." *For the Union Dead* seems more a collection of occasional poems, and the title poem does not serve as either summary or linkage.

Yet all the familiar Lowell themes are here. In poems such as "The Scream" and "Those Before Us" there is an extension of the falling-away theme, the suggestion that the death of others (which so preoccupies Lowell in *Life Studies*) also passes away as a fact of day-to-day existence. For the most part, however, the falls are the familiar ones of death ("Alfred Corning Clark"), of growing older ("Middle Age"), of failed love ("The Old Flame"), of historical decline. The materials—personal, historical, literary—are also familiar, with only the variation of geography (poems on Florence, Buenos Aires) to suggest that Lowell's Boston is spreading. The poems still get their substance and their meaning from the images that fill them and some of those images are making return appearances. The sound of the snowplow and its flashing lights emphasize the division between husband and wife ("In one bed and apart") in "The Old Flame" as they did a dozen years ago in "The Mills of the Kavanaughs."

For the Union Dead differs from its predecessors primarily in its verse form and its simplicity. For the most part, the poems in the new volume use short lines of no formal pattern —usually of three feet or less. It is true that Lowell experimented with the short line in a few earlier poems —"For Sale" in *Life Studies,* his reworking of Leopardi and Montale in *Imitations*—but in *For the Union Dead* the new line has almost elbowed the old long line aside.

The simplicity is most apparent in "The Public Garden," a revision of "David and Bathsheba in the Public Garden" from *The Mills of the Kavanaughs.* The poem is still about a dead love, recalled when one of the lovers visits "our stamping ground." Lowell has dropped the references to the Biblical lovers and the wronged Uriah, has dispensed with a lion-David analogy that grew out of the lions on the fountain, has pressed the two sections of the poem into one, and has done away with the unwieldy dialogue that he used in the first part of the early poem. What he has retained—individual lines, for the most part—are the concrete images that make us see the garden: the children playing football, the ducks circling and diving, the dead leaves in the dry fountain, the distant moon. The poem as a whole indicates Lowell's present attraction to the short poem over the long episodic ones he often used in the earlier books.

The nature of the changes and the retentions show the way in which Lowell has moved away from the obscure words, the mythic allusions that he was once so fond of. This movement was already clear in *Life Studies,* in which the death poems managed quite well without the presence of Charon, who in *Lord Weary's Castle* so often mistook the Charles for the Styx. In his latest work, Lowell's choice of words has become increasingly direct. The simplicity of language precludes neither the manipulation of image in which apparently objective description turns darkly subjective (as in "The Scream") nor a complicated use of repetition that hooks seemingly disconnected images together (as in the poem "For the Union Dead").

There are poems in the new volume that I passed over quickly and returned to reluctantly, but the best of *For the Union Dead* is as fascinating as the more familiar Lowell poems. It pulls me back to look and look again. There I find Lowell still picking through his treasures, still picking at his wounds. At the end of "Hawthorne," Lowell finishes his description of the novelist—and, incidentally, himself: "The disturbed eyes rise,/furtive, foiled, dissatisfied/ from meditation on the true/and insignificant."

Gilding the Golden Triangle

AL HINE

PITTSBURGH: THE STORY OF AN AMERICAN CITY, edited by Stefan Lorant. *Doubleday. $12.50.*

For me, Pittsburgh has always been the most exciting of American cities, so I looked forward to Stefan Lorant's coffee-table-size volume with a delight that remained undiminished until I had gone through the first 300-odd pages. Henry Steele Commager on frontier Pittsburgh, Lorant himself on the post-Revolution period and the period between the First and Second World Wars, Oscar Handlin on early nineteenth-century growing pains, J. Cutler Andrews on the Civil War and its aftermath, Sylvester K. Stevens on industrial growth, Henry David on nineteenth-century labor problems, John Morton Blum on the entrepreneurs, Gerald W. Johnson on the muckraking era—all bring bright

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interest, coherence, and occasional fresh perspectives.

The format and documentary illustrations are superb. There could have been a few more maps detailing early trade routes and positioning the city better in relation to the East and to the opening and widening frontier, and I was not impressed by the unnecessary new artwork sandwiched in between contemporary material, but these are minor cavils. There are enchanting contemporary documents, from Robert Stobo's smuggled sketch of Fort Duquesne, to a mid-nineteenth-century circular for Samuel M. Kier's Petroleum or Rock Oil, to a 1915 riverside parking lot heralding the appearance of the automobile.

For the most part, *Pittsburgh* is an honest pictorial history of a typically atypical American city. Unfortunately, the book was also conceived as a monument to Pittsburgh's impressive present redevelopment. And, as such, it proceeds to surmount a beautiful foundation with a dull and conventional façade.

Pittsburgh has mellowed—enough to accept and even revel in its glorious, brawling past. The book brings us the Harry Thaw-Evelyn Nesbit-Stanford White scandal (Harry Thaw came from Pittsburgh), the Whisky Rebellion, the 1877 rioting and burning of the Union Depot, some coverage of old saloons, and candid records of exploitation and political scandal.

But when we come close to living memory, the book begins to drag. Some blame must be placed on the editor as well as on the misguided public spirit of his sponsors. He has chosen himself to write the section on Pittsburgh between the wars, and I fear that no non-Pittsburgher can capture the confusions, scandals, and excitements of so recent a period from records or hearsay. It is one thing to recover charm and delight from yellowed prints, old diaries, and bills of lading. It is quite another, unless you have lived in the place and through the times, to do such a recovery job on events of the past forty years.

Lorant either omits entirely or gives only the most perfunctory attention to a great many of the more celebrated characters and events that have graced or disgraced the city during the period he covers. Where, for example, is the full story of Nettie Gordon, Polly Adler's much more prosperous rival, whose death (as Republican National Committeewoman, as I recall) precipitated the grandest funeral in local history; or Charley Kline, Pittsburgh's playboy mayor of the prohibition era (he gets a picture in the body of the book and some mention of his trial for misconduct in office in the Chronology section, but this is a little like writing a history of New York and touching on Jimmy Walker only as a target of the Seabury investigation); or the Harris Nickelodeon, the first movie theater in America (again, only a mention in the chronology); Billy Conn and Fritzie Zivic, who get similar brief mention, and none of the other boxing Zivics even a line; or Paul and Lloyd Waner, Big and Little Poison of the Pittsburgh Pirates; or Andrew Mellon's improbable divorce action; or—aside from set-piece mentions of Pitt and Carnegie Tech—of education in Pittsburgh or of Ben Graham, who made its public-school system one of the best in the nation. And what is one to make of a book that shrugs off the whole drama of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, of Phil Murray and John L. Lewis and Vince Sweeney, of the birth of the CIO in the region, in an off-the-cuff paragraph?

I don't know how to account for these omissions, but a possible reason is an ancient Pittsburgh neurosis, a combination of chip-on-the-shoulder scorn and growling timidity where the rest of the world, and especially the U.S. East, is concerned. Pittsburgh has no reason for this timidity, which ill befits a city that pioneered industrial production throughout American history (and still does); that gave us the Westinghouse air brake and most of the steel that helped us span the continent and win our wars; gave us, too, the philanthropies of that fierce and sentimental Scot, Andrew Carnegie; gave us the Impressionist painter Mary Cassatt, the mass-produced aluminum of the Mellons and Arthur Vining Davis; was the commercial center of our first oil boom; gave us ringing names in the national mythology like Charles M. Schwab, Henry Clay Frick, Andrew Mellon, Mad Anthony Wayne, Henry W. Oliver, Pittsburgh Phil, John Alfred Brashear, Samuel Pierpont Langley, Victor Herbert . . . and on and on, a wonderfully rich and varied honor roll of men and women in some way connected with the city at the Golden Triangle of the Allegheny and the Monongahela.

Does this same timidity account for the selection in the book of notable present-day persons? What strained and strange choices and what stranger omissions! Full credit is given to pedestrian painting by John Kane and Samuel Rosenberg, but no mention of Robert Gwathmey, who during his teaching years in Pittsburgh was a major influence on the art of our times. Why photographs of Gene Kelly, Martha Graham, Rachel Carson, William Powell, Perry Como, and other long-time exiles, but no mention of James Laughlin of New Directions, Oliver Rea of the theatre, or Malcolm Cowley—all at least equally authentic and perhaps more significant Pittsburghers?

Former Mayor of Pittsburgh and Governor of Pennsylvania David L. Lawrence closes the volume with the story of redevelopment. Now, David Lawrence is one of the most gifted politicians of our time, but for this chore he fills pages chronicling the excitement of a city's rebirth with standard public-relations prose. There was conflict and drama in this period, stubborn resistance quelled only when Lawrence could mobilize the commercial pressures of R. K. Mellon, the Heinzes, and other corporate giants to implement the grandiose plans of the Redevelopment Commission. Instead of this conflict and drama, we are served up passages like: "Of course things did not go as smoothly as this narrative might imply. One crisis followed another."

Thus, on total assay, *Pittsburgh* can serve as both model and moral warning for any other city seeking its own published monument. The model is in the wonderful past, and since this is almost three-fourths of the book, it is an achievement to be welcomed. The moral is: Don't let the present scare you any more than the past.

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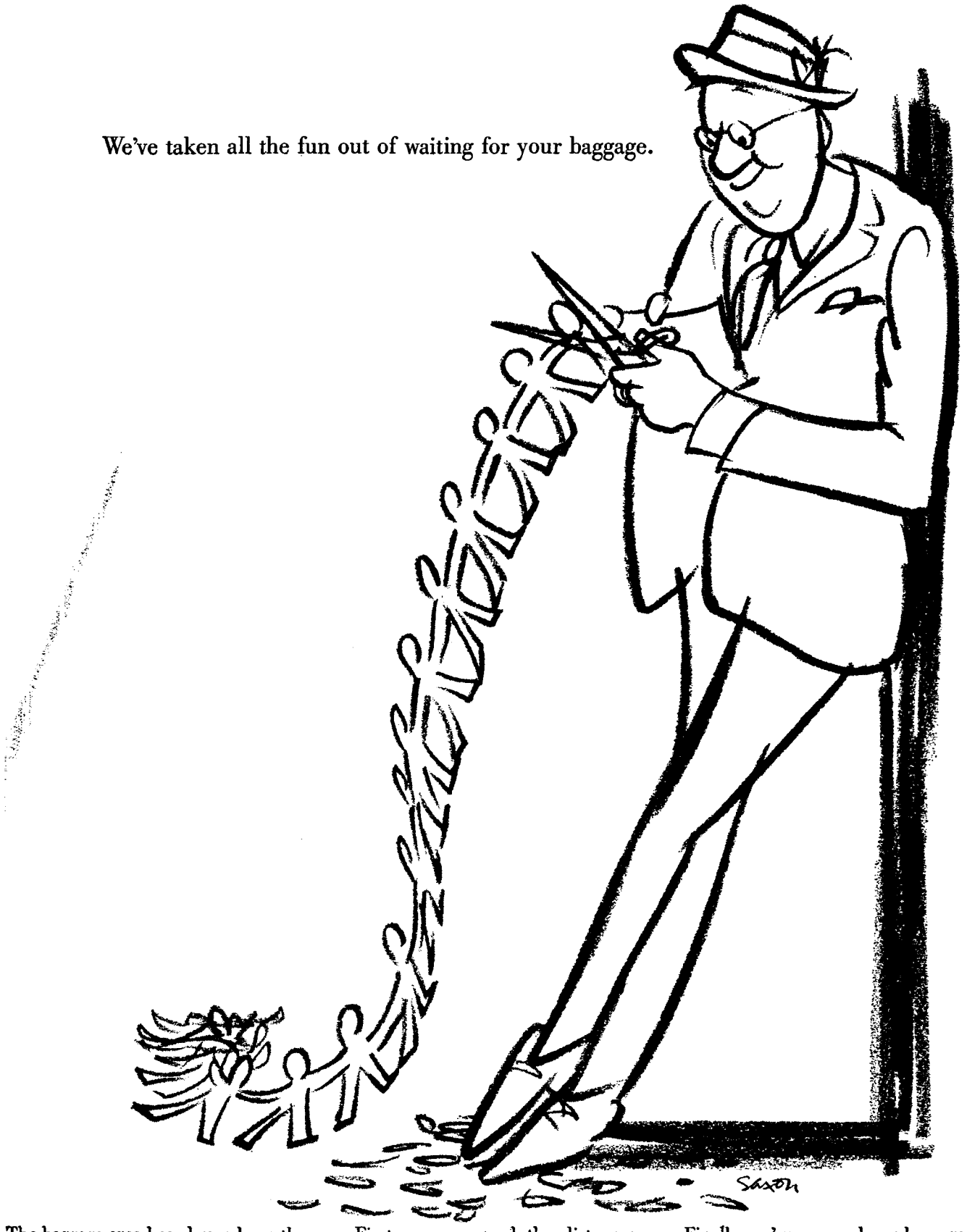

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